



POLITICAL STATUS

OF THE

**Methodist Episcopal Church.**

BY RUMSEY SMITHSON.

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“YE SHALL KNOW THEM BY THEIR FRUITS.” [*Matthew vii.* 16.]

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HISTORY presents two distinct and antagonistic elements in the Christian Church—one political, the other non-political. This distinction, now so strikingly portrayed in the history of the American Churches, may be traced back to the early ages of Christianity. The political element has ever manifested a strong disposition to meddle in the affairs of state, while the non-political or purely religious element has always discarded such intermeddling on the part of the Church of Christ, as not only no part of her mission, but wholly contrary to the example and teachings of the Apostolic Church.

This political interference in the Church has resulted in the division of all the leading Protestant denominations in the United States.

It is worthy of remark that the first two Bishops of the Methodist Church in America were divided in reference to this subject. Bishop Coke stood at the head of the political faction in the Church, while Bishop Asbury, the great apostle of American Methodism, represented the non-political element. It is due, however, to the memory of Dr. Coke to remark that he had not proceeded far in his assaults upon the civil institutions of the country before he discovered his error, and, like a man of God, renounced it. The non-political element of the Methodist Church in former years was largely in the majority.

## NON-POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THE M. E. CHURCH IN 1836.

In May, 1836, the General Conference, in Cincinnati, condemned political interference, in the following language, by a vote of one hundred and twenty to fourteen :

"Whereas, great excitement has prevailed in this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the General Conference in lecturing upon and in favor of that agitating subject; and whereas, such a course on the part of any of its members is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicions and distrust of the community, and to misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the points at issue; and whereas, in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the Church confided to its care, demand a full, decided, and unequivocal expression of the ideas of the General Conference in the premises:—Therefore,

"1. Resolved, by the delegates of the annual conferences in General Conference assembled, That they disapprove, in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of two members of the General Conference, who are reported to have lectured in this city recently upon and in favor of modern abolitionism.

"2. Resolved, that they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slaveholding states in this Union."—*Bangs's History M. E. Ch.*, Vol. 4, p. 245.

The foregoing preamble and resolutions show the *non*-political character of the M. E. church in 1836. The strongest language is employed in condemnation of the conduct of two of the members of the General Conference in lecturing in favor of abolitionism. The General Conference in the most unequivocal terms declared its opposition to "abolitionism," and "wholly disclaimed any right, wish or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it existed in the slaveholding States." The views of the General Conference of 1836 may be further seen in the following pastoral address which was adopted by that body :

"We now approach a subject of no little delicacy and difficulty, and which we cannot but think has contributed its full proportion to that religious declension over which we mourn. It is not unknown to you, dear brethren and friends, that, in common with other denominations in our land, as well as our citizens generally, we have been much agitated in some portions of our work with the very excitable subject of what is called abolitionism. This subject has been brought before us at our present session—fully, and, we humbly trust, impartially discussed, and by almost a unanimous vote highly disapproved of; and while we would tenderly sympathize with those of our brethren who have, as we believe, been led astray by this agitating topic, we feel it our imperative duty to express our decided disapprobation of the *measures* they have pursued to accomplish their object. It cannot be unknown to you, that the question of slavery in these United States, by the constitutional compact which binds us together as a nation, is left to be regulated by the several state legislatures themselves; and thereby is put beyond the

control of the general government, as well as that of all ecclesiastical bodies; it being manifest, that in the slaveholding states themselves the entire responsibility of its existence or non-existence rests with those state legislatures. And such is the aspect of affairs in reference to this question, that whatever else might tend to meliorate the condition of the slave, it is evident to us, from what we have witnessed of abolition movements, that these are the least likely to do him good. On the contrary, we have it in evidence before us, that the inflammatory speeches, and writings, and movements, have tended, in many instances, injuriously to affect his temporal and spiritual condition, by hedging up the way of the missionary who is sent to preach to him Jesus and the resurrection, and by making a more rigid supervision necessary on the part of his overseer, thereby abridging his civil and religious privileges.

"These facts, which are only mentioned here as a reason for the friendly admonition which we wish to give you, constrain us, as your pastors, who are called to watch over your souls as they who must give an account, to exhort you to abstain from all abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications; and especially from those of that inflammatory character which denounce in unmeasured terms those of their brethren who take the liberty to dissent from them. Those of you who may have honest scruples as to the lawfulness of slavery, considered as an abstract principle of moral right and wrong, if you must speak your sentiments, would do much better to express yourselves in those terms of respect and affection, which evince a sincere sympathy for those of your brethren who are necessarily, and, in some instances, reluctantly associated with slavery in the states where it exists, than to indulge in harsh censures and denunciations, and in those fruitless efforts which, instead of lightening the burden of the slave, only tend to make his condition the more irksome and distressing.

"From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate survey of the whole ground, we have come to the solemn conviction, that the only safe, Scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people, to take, is wholly to refrain from this agitating subject, which is now convulsing the country, and consequently the Church, from end to end, by calling forth inflammatory speeches, papers, and pamphlets. While we cheerfully accord to such all the sincerity they ask for their belief and motives, we cannot but disapprove of their measures, as alike destructive to the peace of the Church, and to the happiness of the slave himself."—*Bangs's Hist. M. E. Ch., Vol. 4, p. 258.*

This document shows that the General Conference of 1836, while it expressed sympathy for those who had imbibed abolition views, regarded them as having been led astray. It declared that slavery was "beyond the control both of the General Government" and of "Ecclesiastical bodies."

It advised the members to "abstain from all abolition movements and associations," and even to "*refrain* from patronizing abolition publications." It regarded the agitation of the subject of slavery as unscriptural, unsafe and imprudent. It disapproved of abolition measures, as alike destructive to the peace of the Church and to the happiness of the slave.

Such was the testimony of the fathers in the General Conference of 1836. They saw the blighting influences of abolitionism.

upon the spirituality of the Church, and bore testimony against it as a great evil.

#### NON-POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THE M. E. CHURCH IN 1840.

In May, 1840, the General Conference, in Baltimore, sent the following reply to an address from the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, in Great Britain :

"Of these United States, (to the government and laws of which, 'according to the division of power made to them by the constitution of the Union, and the constitutions of the several states,' we owe, and delight to render, a sincere and patriotic loyalty,) there are several which do not allow of slavery. There are others in which it is allowed, and there are slaves; but the tendency of the laws, and the minds of the majority of the people, are in favor of emancipation. But there are others in which slavery exists so universally, and is so closely interwoven with their civil institutions, that both do the laws disallow of emancipation, and the great body of the people (the source of laws with us) hold it to be unreasonable to set forth any thing, by word or deed, tending that way. Each one of all these states is independent of the rest and sovereign, with respect to its internal government, (as much so as if there existed no confederation among them for ends of common interest,) and therefore it is impossible to frame a rule on slavery proper for our people in all the states alike. But our Church is extended through all the states, and as it would be wrong and unscriptural to enact a rule of discipline in opposition to the constitution and laws of the state on this subject, so also would it not be equitable or Scriptural to confound the positions of our ministers and people (so different as they are in different states) with respect to the moral question which slavery involves.

"Under the administration of the venerated Dr. Coke, this plain distinction was once overlooked, and it was attempted to urge emancipation in *all* the states; but the attempt proved almost ruinous, and was soon abandoned by the doctor himself. While, therefore, the Church has encouraged emancipation in those states where the laws permit it, and allowed the freed-man to enjoy freedom, we have refrained, for consciences' sake, from all intermeddling with the subject in those other states where the laws make it criminal. And such a course we think agreeable to the Scriptures, and indicated by St. Paul's inspired instruction to servants in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. vii, ver. 20, 21. For if servants were not to care for their servitude when they *might not* be free, though if they might be free they should use it *rather*; so, neither should masters be condemned for not setting them free when they *might not* do so, though *if* they *might* they should do so *rather*."—*Bungs's History M. E. Ch.*, Vol. 4, p. 379.

Here again we have the testimony of the fathers against any interference on the part of the Church with the civil institutions of the country. Abolitionism met with no favor among those holy men of God. The highest representative council of the Church then declared it "wrong and unscriptural to enact a rule of discipline in opposition to the constitution and laws of the State on the subject" of slavery, and quoted from St. Paul in justification of its position. The General Conference also declared it *wrong* to *condemn* masters for holding slaves.

The political element, though in the minority at this time, was rapidly on the increase, and continued to disturb the peace and harmony of the Church by their interference in political matters.

Such was the state of things in the Church that it became apparent to the General Conference, in Philadelphia, in 1844, that a division of the Church would be to the interest of Zion, and consequently a plan of separation was agreed upon in that body.

Pursuant to the plan adopted, the Church becomes divided into two bodies—Northern and Southern. The M. E. Church, South, has ever nobly maintained a non-political character, regarding the salvation of souls as her only mission under Christ, the great Head of the Church, while the M. E. Church (North) being composed principally of the political element, has made very great strides into political fanaticism.

#### POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THE M. E. CHURCH IN 1864.

The General Conference held in Philadelphia, May, 1864, adopted a political platform, from which we copy the following :

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the government to prosecute the war with all its resources of men and money till this wicked rebellion shall be subdued, the integrity of the nation shall be secured, and its legitimate authority shall be re-established, and that we pledge our hearty support and co-operation to secure this result.

*Resolved*, That we will use all our efforts to secure such a change in the Constitution of our country as shall recognize the being of God, our dependence on him for prosperity, and also his word as the foundation of civil law.

*Resolved*, That we regard slavery as abhorrent to the principles of our holy religion, humanity, and civilization, and that we are decidedly in favor of such an amendment to the Constitution, and such legislation on the part of the states, as shall prohibit slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, throughout all the states and territories of the country.—*General Conference Journal*, p. 264.

Compare this with the proceedings of the General Conference of 1836 and of 1840, already given in this book, and mark the contrast. The General Conference of 1836 passed a resolution of censure upon two of its members for lecturing in favor of abolitionism, and at the same time disclaimed “any *right, wish* or *intention* to interfere in the civil and political relations between master and slave.” The General Conference of 1864 declares itself in favor of abolitionism, and in the most direct manner possible “interferes with the civil and political relations between master and slave.” The General Conferences of 1836



and of 1840 discarded all political intermeddling on the part of the Church. The General Conference of 1864 adopts a regular political platform and assumed to dictate the duty and policy, both of the General Government and of the States. Besides all this, the M. E. Church, in the General Conference of 1864, became a party in the war by pledging her "*co-operation*" with the Federal Government in the prosecution of the most bloody civil contest in which a country was ever involved.

However justifiable, in a political point of view, a civil government may be in waging war, how inconsistent it must appear to all for a Church, whose only mission should be "on earth peace and good will toward men," to pledge its "support" and "*co-operation*" in the destruction of human life. How incompatible with the Gospel of Peace!

As for the proof that the M. E. Church was a party in the civil war, I subjoin the following extract from a sermon preached by Bishop Morris before the General Conference, in Philadelphia, May 10, 1864:

After the Southern rebellion had developed itself in such magnitude that our President became satisfied that there was not power enough in the army, as it then existed, to put it down, he called for volunteers. And who responded? I answer that, so far as we know, all Churches did nobly; but it is true, nevertheless, that we have more than any other denomination who are in the service of our country. We have at least one hundred thousand Church members who have been mustered into the service of the United States; and many of our preachers have also gone, some as privates, some as captains, and a great many as chaplains; probably twice as many as from other denominations. There are three members of this General Conference, regular ministers, who have done service for their country as colonels, moving at the head of their regiments amid showers of leaden and iron hail, leading the van of the host, amid the shouting and tumult of battle.—*General Conference Journal*, p. 290,

Rev. R. Haney, in a sermon preached before the Central Illinois Conference, at Lexington, September 23, 1866, (and which was endorsed by that body,) made the following declaration:

"Our Church sent to the front one hundred and seventy-five thousand warriors."—*Sermon connected with Minutes*, p. 11.

At a Convention of the Ministers of the Rock River, Central Illinois, Illinois, and Southern Illinois Conferences, held in Bloomington, Ill., September 25, 1866, the following was adopted:

"In presenting a report on the state of the country, we congratulate our Church that no preamble is needed asserting our loyalty. The great, good

and martyred President affirmed it when he wrote: 'It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospital, and more prayers to Heaven than any.'"—*Minutes Illinois Conference*, p. 23.

These same ministers have preached that one soul was of infinitely more value than millions of worlds like this, and here they boast of having been the means, as a Church, of sending thousands into eternity who, according to their own showing, were unprepared to die, and consequently lost to all eternity. What monstrous inconsistency! What consummate wickedness! Are not such men justly entitled to be called the recruiting officers of perdition, rather than ministers of peace and salvation?

"Their feet are swift to shed blood; Destruction and misery are in their ways."—*Rom. iii*, 15, 16.

Yes; the ministers of the M. E. Church have preached war, desolation and extermination from the sacred desk and upon the holy Sabbath. They have turned their Churches into recruiting offices on the Lord's day, and enlisted men to destroy human life. They have gone into the sanctuary, and in the solemn attitude of worshipers knelt down before God and in presence of the people have prayed the Almighty to direct Federal bullets to the hearts of the "rebels." Some have even prayed *that rebels* might be sent to "hell," while others have advocated the extermination of helpless women and children in the South; and all this in the name of Christianity, humanity, loyalty and patriotism. But let me ask: Did Christ or any of His Apostles ever preach a war sermon? Did they convert their houses of worship into recruiting offices to enlist men to fight for some civil government? Did they pledge the co-operation of their Church to any secular power in the destruction of human life? Have we any example of any of them ever praying that men might be *sent to hell*?

#### EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION OF THE M. E. CHURCH.

The following proclamation was issued by the General Conference of 1864 in connection with its report on slavery:

Relying on the promise and mercy of God, as far as we can we "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof."—*General Conference Journal*, p. 376.

In sending forth this edict, the General Conference assumed the exercise of the highest power in the Government, and did thereby directly interfere with the civil institutions of the country, a thing wholly beyond the mission of the Church, and discarded in the most unequivocal language by the General Conferences of 1836 and 1840. By this and similar action it can very easily be seen that the M. E. Church has wandered very far from the "*old land marks*."

#### POLITICAL TEST OF MEMBERSHIP.

In an address of the General Conference of 1864, to the President of the United States, occurs the following language :

"In her Articles of Religion she has enjoined loyalty as a duty."—*General Conference Journal*, p. 379.

The following was adopted by a Convention of the Ministers of the Rock River, Central Illinois, Illinois, and Southern Illinois Conferences, held in Bloomington, Ill., September 25, 1866 :

.. *Resolved*, 1. That we feel profoundly thankful to the God of our fathers that he led them to put into the creed of the M. E. Church the twenty-third Article of Religion, which makes it impossible to be untrue to the Government without being false to our religious vows, and which denies church membership to disloyal citizens."—*Minutes of Illinois Conference*, p. 23.

The following was adopted by the General Conference of 1864 and ordered to be incorporated in the Discipline :

*Question 2.* How shall we receive those ministers who shall offer to unite with us from the Methodist Episcopal Church South ?

*Answer.* Upon the same condition as specified in answer to question 1, provided they give satisfactory assurances to an Annual or Quarterly Conference, of their loyalty to the national government, and hearty approval of the antislavery doctrine of our Church.—*General Conference Journal*, p. 241. *Discipline*, Part 2, Chap. 2, Sec. 11.

The following was adopted by the West Wisconsin Conference, at its session commencing at Hazel Green, Wis., August 29, 1866 :

In reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, with the events of another year before us, we think as heretofore, that though we would gladly receive and fellowship individuals who are thoroughly satisfied with our present rule requiring *loyalty* to the government, and heartily concur in our *anti-slavery* status, yet to receive them as a body, irrespective of these rules, would be to absorb the seeds of corruption, discord and contention.—*Minutes West Wisconsin Conference*, p. 19.

The foregoing extracts show that the M. E. Church has made loyalty a test of membership. This is a clear case. But who are loyal? 1. According to the sense in which this word is used by the M. E. Church, none are loyal who believed and advocated the right and policy of States to withdraw from the Federal Government. 2. None are loyal who honestly believe in the right of States to withdraw from the Federal Government, however much they may be opposed to such action on the part of any State. 3. None are loyal who do not believe in a forced union of the States.

As it regards the secession of States, whatever may be said of it, it is purely a political question, over which the Church has no more jurisdiction than over any other political issue of the day. It cannot be maintained that the doctrine of secession *per se* involves any moral question whatever. Hence, there may be good and true Christians on both sides of all such issues. For any branch of the Church, therefore, to establish a test of membership upon such issues, is to do that which is wholly unauthorized by the Word of God, and which, at the same time, virtually shuts up the Kingdom of Heaven against all who are not able to subscribe to a certain political dogma.

But again: None are loyal in the opinion of the M. E. Church who criticised the Lincoln administration. In proof of this I insert the following, which was adopted by the General Conference of 1864:

We should frown with indignation on all as guilty of disloyalty who coldly criticise every measure of the administration in this struggle for the national life, under the hypocritical pretense that they are careful that the fundamental law shall not be violated.—*General Conference Journal*, p. 382.

This settles the question. Here the General Conference, the highest court of the M. E. Church, denounces in the strongest and most unequivocal language "*all as guilty of disloyalty*" who criticised the measures of the administration, a privilege declared by the ablest and purest statesmen, to be the birthright of every American citizen.

Here we have the sense in which the term *disloyalty* is used by the M. E. Church in her highest council. According to the definition of *disloyalty* as here given by the General Conference, all are *guilty of disloyalty* who criticised the measures of the administration; and as all Democrats criticised the measures of

the administration, therefore all Democrats are *guilty of disloyalty*, and consequently excluded from the M. E. Church by the decision of her highest tribunal.

If all who criticised the administration are *guilty of disloyalty*, then all who believe as those who did so criticise are disloyal at heart, and as all Democrats believe as those who criticised the administration, therefore all Democrats are disloyal at heart, and consequently excluded from the M. E. Church by the decision of the General Conference. The position of the M. E. Church is, that all who approved of the measures of the administration are loyal, and all who did not are disloyal.

#### THE ARGUMENT IN SYLLOGISM.

All who criticised the administration are disloyal;  
 All Democrats criticised the administration;  
 Therefore all Democrats are disloyal.  
 The M. E. Church denies membership to all who are disloyal;  
 All Democrats are disloyal according to the M. E. Church;  
 Therefore the M. E. Church denies membership to all Democrats.

But it may be claimed that there are some Democrats belonging to the M. E. Church. If there are, it is in open violation of this test of membership as established and defined by said Church in her highest representative body. They have no right there according to this new test. They are there for the present only as a matter of policy, or of local temporary necessity, and at the mercy or timidity of those who administer the discipline. They are there under the *frowning "indignation"* of the General Conference. But the General Conference not only "*frowns with indignation*" upon them, but sets it forth as the duty of the entire Church to do the same. A verdict of disloyalty has already been rendered by the great Sanhedrim of the M. E. Church against all Democrats, whether members or not, whether supporters or non-supporters of said Church, who were opposed to what they considered the unconstitutional measures of the administration party, to which the M. E. Church, in the General Conference of 1864, solemnly pledged her "heartly support and co-operation."

The foregoing extracts also show that all except Abolitionists are hereafter and forever to be excluded from the ministry of the

M. E. Church. None but those who can give their hearty approval of the anti-slavery doctrine of the Church as lately defined are to be admitted.

While this test was established for special cases, it virtually excludes all whose views are not in perfect harmony with the M. E. Church on the subject of slavery. The anti-slavery doctrine of the M. E. Church, as set forth in her pulpit, her press, her General and Annual Conference resolutions, of late years, is the very acme of radicalism, and yet a man must give his hearty approval of this extreme radicalism or be excluded from the ministry of said Church.

This is the spirit of radical Methodism. None can preach the Gospel in the M. E. Church except Abolitionists. This is the test established by the General Conference of 1864, and inserted in the Discipline, Part 2, Chap. ii, sec. 11.

In a sermon preached by Rev. R. Haney, September 23, 1866 before the Central Illinois Conference, at Lexington, Illinois, he boasted in the following language :

“ We have no pastorate that would receive or support a disloyal man.”—*Minutes Central Illinois Conference, p. 11 of Sermon.*

Well, who are disloyal? We have already shown that all Democrats are pronounced disloyal by the M. E. Church and her preachers; consequently no pastorate in the M. E. Church would receive or support a Democratic minister—R. Haney and the ministers of the Central Illinois Conference, who endorsed his statement, themselves being judges.

#### POLITICAL PLATFORMS OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCES.

The following extracts are taken from the political platforms of thirty different Annual Conferences of the M. E. Church, from Maine to California, and from the Lakes to the Gulf. They are copied from the minutes of the Annual Conferences of 1866. Dates and references will be found in connection with each platform :

*Maine Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Lewiston, Maine, commencing May 9, 1866 :

WHEREAS, One of the most desolating, bloody wars known in the world's history, was inaugurated and prosecuted by Southern rebels, aided by Northern treason and Northern sympathy ; and

WHEREAS, it is the duty of all good and loyal citizens to give expression to their sentiments and opinions, when great and vital questions, affecting the interests of the country, are before the American people: therefore,

*Resolved*, 4. That, as the judgment of this Conference, the people of the revolted States should never be reinstated in their political rights, or taken back into the Union as States, until they honestly and in good faith repudiate their treason, secure to all their people equal civil and political rights, and furnish ample and sufficient guaranties for their future loyalty to the government of the United States.

*Resolved*, 5. That the noble, patriotic stand taken by the American Congress, to shut out treason and rebellion from its Legislative Halls, and to secure to all persons their just and lawful rights under the Constitution, meets our entire approbation, and we thank its members for triumphantly passing the "Civil Rights Bill" over the veto of a President whose restoration policy receives support and sympathy from the men who rejoiced at the defeat of the Federal arms, and mourned and lamented when victory perched upon the old flag.

*Resolved*, 6. That as evidence of the loyalty and patriotism of our own beloved Church, we can proudly point to the great historical fact that the Methodist Episcopal Church furnished more men for the Union armies than any other religious denomination in the Union; while upon every battlefield sleep their fallen heroes, who left their church, their homes, and their all, to die for God and their country.

*Resolved*, 7. That we believe in the Andrew Johnson of 1861 and '62, and still honor the patriotic stand he assumed and maintained in the United States Senate at the commencement of the rebellion; that we still respect his able and efficient services in behalf of our country during the perils of the war; but we never can indorse his reconstruction policy as shadowed forth in his veto messages and speeches; for we believe its adoption would be disastrous to the best interests of the country, and a disgraceful surrender to an enemy we fought four years to conquer.—*Minutes Maine Conference*, p. 25.

*East Maine Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Waldoborough, Maine, commencing May 16, 1866:

*Resolved*, 1. That we offer our most sincere thanks to Almighty God for the success of our arms, the abolition of American slavery, and the return of peace, with all its blessings, to our beloved land.

*Resolved*, 3. That heart and heart, and hand in hand with all good men, standing here before the all-seeing eye, we solemnly pledge ourselves to each other and to God, that, while life shall last, we will never cease our efforts or our prayers until the *civil* and *political* rights of all persons are secured, throughout the length and breadth of our land.

*Resolved*, 4. That we would make honorable mention of the brave and noble men in our Congress, who, in the more sublime battle of ideas, of thoughts, and of principles, unawed by influence and unbribed by gain, have so grandly sustained the principles for which our heroes died.

*Resolved*, 5. That while, with state pride and tender feelings, we remember the "empty sleeve" of our own immortal Howard, it is with emotion too deep for expression that we think of the now *vacant chair* that the honest Abraham Lincoln left for his marble tomb among his friends, at Springfield, Illinois.—*Minutes East Maine Conference*, p. 24.

*Newark Conference.*—Adopted at the session held in Washington, New Jersey, March 21st to 27th, 1866 :

*Resolved*, 2. That we hail with unmingled delight and joy the deliverance of our country from the scourge and curse of slavery, secured in the providence of God by the adoption of the "Constitutional Amendment," and the fact that, in the midst of our rejoicings and the exultation of the lovers of liberty in all the world, four millions of freedmen lift up their glad songs of triumph.

*Resolved*, 3. That the condition of the freedmen demands and should receive our cordial sympathy; that the nation should regard them especially as its "wards," thrown upon its care and deserving its protection, recognizing their manhood and the rights pertaining thereto.

*Resolved*, 4. That, in the assassination of our late lamented President, we have seen the culmination of the spirit of rebellion resulting in the untimely removal of one of the purest statesmen and most illustrious patriots whom God ever permitted to bear rule in a nation, and that this great national calamity has filled our hearts with unutterable emotions of sorrow.

*Resolved*, 7. That in the glorious work of grace which the great Head of the Church has vouchsafed us, we recognize an evidence not to be disputed that God approves the patriotic attitude of the Church during the late fearful civil war, and the fidelity with which it has adhered to the principles of freedom, humanity, and religion.—*Minutes Newark Conference*, p. 24.

*New Jersey Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Camden, New Jersey, commencing March 21, 1866 :

*Resolved*, 3. That although active hostilities have ceased, there yet exist among us tumultuous and exciting elements, sufficient to awaken some apprehension for the future, of which we cannot be indifferent spectators.

*Resolved*, 4. That we exceedingly regret that while the nation has triumphed over the most causeless and flagitious rebellion on record, no adequate punishment has been meted out to the prominent actors in this treason which has clothed the land in mourning and drenched it with the blood of thousands of our fellow citizens.

*Resolved*, 5. That the nation is wholly unprepared to witness the reception into the halls of Federal legislation of any of the notorious traitors engaged in the late rebellion, unwashed as they are of the blood of their countrymen, whom they have wickedly slain, and such a humiliating spectacle could not fail to afflict the heart of every patriot.

*Resolved*, 6. That we favor the representation in Congress, of those States lately in rebellion, by men patriotic in heart, so soon as they may be found,—treason having hitherto justly deprived those States of representation and should continue to do so until Congress is satisfied of their loyalty.—*Minutes New Jersey Conference*, p. 26.

*East Genesee Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Newark, New York, commencing August 29, 1866 :

The present condition of our country is peculiar, and, to every patriotic heart, alarming. A gigantic rebellion, instigated by the spirit and prosecuted in the interests of slavery, has indeed been subdued by force of arms, and at an enormous cost of blood and treasure. Slavery, as an institution



recognized in State Constitutions and regulated by State legislation, has been abolished. But there is mournful evidence that its virus is by no means eliminated from the Southern mind and heart, and we are admonished by terrible events that multiplied securities are required to prevent speedy relapse into a condition of things which may be even worse than that which preceded the war. At such a time it is matter of regret to all good citizens that anything of serious antagonism should arise between the different departments of our government. No political principle can be clearer than that, in a republican government, the law-making representatives of the people and the States are supreme over all other officers and departments of the complex organization. \* \* \* As the English nation has made itself glorious before the world by its love of freedom and defense of popular rights against the intrusive claims of its earlier kings, so is this American people called upon to complete the glory of its recent victories by a further and yet sublimer triumph over its own assuming and pragmatismal servants. In such a crisis, more than in any other that we have been called to pass, is there a demand upon the people for cool, just thinking, for fervent, faithful prayer, and then for prompt, courageous action.

We, therefor, the pastors of a numerous flock of Christian citizens, obligated and desirous, so far as in us lies, to lead our people in the path of all religious and moral duty, do

*Resolve*, First. That our primal allegiance is due to the general Congress of these United States as the representative of the people's sovereignty.

*Resolved*, Second. That the general legislation of our present Congress during its recent session, is of such a character as commends its authority to the hearts of a free and generous people.

*Resolved*, Third. That we will do what we can, and all that we can, to secure the permanent reconstruction of our shattered nationality upon the basis proposed by the law-making power.—*Minutes East Genesee Conference*, p. 16.

*Providence Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Bristol, Rhode Island, commencing March 21, 1866 :

In reviewing the war now happily closed by the complete triumph of the army of freedom over the forces of the greatest rebellion heretofore known, we feel constrained to adopt the words of the Psalmist, and exclaim, "Oh ! sing unto the Lord a new song ; for he hath done marvellous things : his right hand and his holy arm hath gotten him the victory."

In the terrible destructiveness of the late war, both to the vanquished and the victors, we humbly recognize the sword of the Lord, vindicating his justice by punishing the whole nation for its many years of guilty complicity with the sin of slavery. By the light of that sword, the nations have read the truth, that there is no impunity for sin, and that national righteousness is the only shield against the stroke of the avenging angel.

As the result of the war, we behold four millions of slaves suddenly transformed into citizens. This is the grandest political fact in the history of nations. Placed in the scale with its consequent coming benefits to the whole country, and weighed against its cost in treasure and blood, we count it not too dearly bought. It has lifted a curse from the breast of the nation, set the clock of the world many hours forward, and greatly accelerated the march of Christianity. Humanity claps its hands, and shouts Hallelujah over it ; we add our heartiest Amen. "Glory to God in the highest," whose power hath wrought this mighty fact !

The emancipation of four millions of slaves imposes novel duties on the nation and on the church. Having made them free, the Government is under obligation to protect them in the exercise of their newly acquired rights

and privileges. It is bound to make them the equals, before the law, of their late oppressors. Their equality at the ballot-box should be the price of amnesty to rebels. By adding equality to liberty, the Government will do much toward producing fraternity between the freedman and his late oppressors, and also between the vanquished and victorious States. In the restoration of fraternity, upon the basis of liberty and equality, we see the surest guaranty of perennial peace.—*Minutes Providence Conference*, p. 29.

*Black River Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Fulton, New York, April 19th to 25th :

*Resolved*, 1. That as ministers of the Gospel, we are deeply sensible of our responsibilities, and by the help of God, will endeavor to meet our obligations both to the church and nation.

*Resolved*, 2. That we will sustain in all proper ways, such legislation as recognizes the doctrine "that all men are born free and equal," and which secures to all the people equal rights and privileges.

*Resolved*, 3. That the measures adopted by the present Congress, especially that act by which the Civil Rights bill was passed over the President's veto, are the exponents of a policy which accords with the Constitution of the United States, and the dearest interests of humanity, and will have a tendency not only to prevent a return of the evils that have threatened our country's ruin, but will be promotive of permanent peace and national prosperity.—*Minutes Black River Conference*, p. 31.

*Resolved*, 5. That these men who were loyal in the midst of traitors, who rallied around the flag to rescue our government, who fed and protected our prisoners at every sacrifice, are entitled to the kind consideration and protection of the government; that we consider it a breach of faith to dispossess them of those lands which were lawfully conveyed to them, and which they have so largely improved and expected to hold; and that we will not be satisfied till the principles of equal rights and the common brotherhood of man prevail all over this land.—*Minutes Black River Conference*, p. 36.

*Pittsburgh Conference*.—Adopted at the session held in Washington, Pennsylvania, commencing March 7, 1866 :

*Resolved*, 1. That we recognize the hand of the God of nations in the overruling of our destinies in the stormy hours of peril and conflict thus far, and to His name ascribe the glory of triumph.

*Resolved*, 2. That we unite in returning thanks to Almighty God, who has made the wrath of man to praise Him, and has shown forth His power and glory in bestowing the blessings of freedom on millions of our enslaved fellow men.

*Resolved*, 3. That regarding as we do, those who have been thus liberated, as our fellow men, and not as chattels; recognizing as we do, the hand of God in their deliverance; conceding to them the possession of mental powers which, though criminally repressed in their exercise, are naturally acute and capable of development, and remembering as we do their devotion to and their efforts in the cause of the Union and liberty—we claim and demand for them not only protection from the cruelties of their former masters, but also equal rights and privileges before the law.—*Minutes Pittsburgh Conference*, p. 28.

*Ohio Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Columbus, Ohio, commencing September 26th, 1866 :

4. We did not cease to be citizens in becoming Christians, but brought our country, with ourselves, so much nearer God; and we cannot be nearer as Christians than we are as citizens. We ought to be as true to Him in our voting as in our praying, and not give our ballot where we would withhold our prayer, but let both be joined together.

5. The weakest point in our Constitution, which its framers ever deplored and hoped would lessen and vanish in its future administration, and which has ever been reproachfully pointed at by other nations, is that we departed from the true theory of republican government, and left among us a class bearing its burdens only, and the ready prey of ambitious and corrupt disturbers. We did not fairly apply our own theory, and this infraction, though slight, has wrought discord that has since threatened destruction. Had the rights of mankind then been declared to be the basis of citizenship, our Government would only have become more secure as its people multiplied, and it would have been as God designed any government to be—the executor and guardian of human rights.

WHEREAS, By the wanton rebellion which has been instigated by those who would rule or ruin, we are permitted as conquerors to restore the polity of seceded States, and to thus avoid errors in their future from which we ourselves have suffered; therefore,

*Resolved*, That the division of our people during the war into two parties, namely, those for and against their country, is the best test we can now apply, and that we shall never honor living or dead destroyers of our Government, as we do its dead or living defenders.

*Resolved*, That we ask no better hands to cast the ballot than to uphold the flag, and we believe it to be both safe and just to extend equal suffrage now at our polls to all who wore our uniform on the battle-field.

*Resolved*, That we deplore the recent and strange conflict of authority between the executive and legislative departments of our Government, and its consequences, even in their present and partial measure, awaken fear of their further and future mischief. We are glad the approaching elections allow an appeal to the people, and to that tribunal we would calmly commit this question.

*Resolved*, That we believe our own civil liberties are the bequest of battling generations who died that we might gain this heritage, and their own names live in the undying aspirations of struggling mankind. We dare not limit or repress the influences of these principles, and for their extension to all our struggling fellow-men we now bind ourselves anew in perpetual dedication to God and our race.—*Minutes Ohio Conference*, p. 41.

*Central Ohio Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Galion, Ohio, commencing August 29th, 1866 :

We congratulate our country in the fact that the late war has so fully developed the nationality of the American people, their love of country, and love of liberty, and we trust she will ever inscribe on her folds loyalty and liberty, one and inseparable.

It is not to be expected that the spirit that animated our country to arms and bloody warfare for four long years, should become quiet in a day. Yet we regret that the spirit which manifested itself at Fort Pillow and elsewhere, in murderous warfare unprecedented in the world's history, has not only burst forth with all its former hate and destructiveness at Memphis and New Orleans, but stands unrebuked by the authority of the Government.

We declare our warmest sympathy for the loyal men of the South, and protest against this wholesale slaughter of freedmen and loyal white men, and call, in the name of bleeding humanity, for Executive interference to protect the innocent and punish the guilty.

We declare ourselves as ever loyal to our government, and that, whether in time of peace, or in time of war, the Methodist Episcopal Church will ever be found the firm supporter of equal rights, liberty, and law.—*Minutes Central Ohio Conference, p. 33.*

*Cincinnati Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Ripley, Ohio, commencing August 29th, 1866 :

4. We rejoice evermore and feel profoundly grateful to Almighty God, that the iniquitous system of negro slavery—that prolific cause of crimes innumerable; of misery and woe the most poignant; of alienation and strife the most bitter; and of the most mischievous and heretical doctrines of State sovereignty and secession—has been forever abolished. \* \*

5. Glorious as are the results achieved by the superior skill and bravery of our armies, your Committee is profoundly impressed with the truth of the sentiment that “*eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.*” The momentous question of reconstruction is beset on every side with great difficulties, through which God alone can safely lead us. And we rejoice in the fact that there has been a profounder recognition of the Divine Providence in the affairs of our nation, during the last four or five years, than ever before. Nevertheless, we believe that our dearest interests are again imperiled by crafty and wicked men, who have self-interest rather than the good of the country at heart. Hence the necessity of sleepless vigilance and earnest prayer on our part, and on the part of the whole nation.

7. We highly deprecate the corrupting influence of the Government patronage bestowed for political purposes, and despair of its cure till that power is either limited or exercised “by and with the advice and consent of the Senate” of the United States.

9. We rejoice with pardonable pride at the decided and noble attitude our Church has assumed toward the great questions of to-day. During the darkest hours of the late war she has given to the Government a hearty and unequivocal support, both as to her sympathies and prayers, and as to her material resources. She has made for herself a record that will reflect credit and honor upon herself in generations to come. And even now, while the momentous question of reconstruction is upon us, she dares to advocate the doctrine that *none* but men of thorough loyalty and tried patriotism should hold the reins of our Government and receive its patronage.

In view of what has been said, your Committee would offer the following resolutions :

*Resolved, 4.* That we rejoice at all those measures adopted by our late National Legislature which tend to restore and maintain the integrity of the Union, and secure to all men their God-given rights.

*Resolved, 5.* That it is the duty of Christian men to make their influence felt in our primary political meetings and at the polls, so as to secure the nomination and election of men of high moral character and of tried patriotism—men who “fear God and work righteousness.”

*Resolved, 6.* That it is our duty to guard with sleepless vigilance our great national interests, for which our heroic soldiers—both the living and the dead—have periled their all.—*Minutes Cincinnati Annual Conference, p. 35.*

*North Ohio Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Mansfield, Ohio, commencing August 29th, 1866 :

WHEREAS, There has been, and still exists, a deep laid scheme to betray the Government into the possession and management of political charlatans, and Southern rebels, who have had hardly time to wash from their hands the stains of Union blood ; and

WHEREAS, the frightful massacre of helpless negroes and white men in New Orleans and Memphis, indicates that the reconstructed rebels, encouraged by some high in authority, intend to revive and re-enact the old barbarous laws and usages by which slavery, with all its horrors, will be practically re-established. Be it therefore

*Resolved*, That it is the imperative duty of all christian patriots to strain every nerve, to bend every energy, and to work unceasingly to vindicate the policy and principles of the National Government, as interpreted and enforced by the late war.

*Resolved*, That the efforts now being made to proscribe Union men, and to galvanize into a ghastly existence the detested party of disunion, is a fearful violation of the most solemn vows, made to the loyal masses of the country on the steps of the Capitol at Washington, and elsewhere, that treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished.

*Resolved*, That we heartily endorse the bold and patriotic action of Congress in passing the amendment to the Constitution, the Civil Rights Bill, and in recommending a modification of the neutrality laws. These measures are a liberal, safe, and proper adjustment of our national difficulties, at home and abroad.—*Minutes North Ohio Conference*, p. 19.

*Northwest Indiana Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Laporte, Indiana, commencing August 29th, 1866 :

3. That we look to the Congress of the United States, the law making power of the Government, as the chief instrumentality in the hands of a merciful Providence, for the preservation and conservation of the unity of our Republic ; and to its measures we give our most cordial approval and support.

4. While we are compelled to express regret that, as we believe, the policy of the President tends to embolden the enemies of the government, and thereby endangers and places in jeopardy the lives of the loyal men of the South, and has already, as we believe, caused the death of many true, brave, and Christian Union men, yet we will continue to pray that he may be guided by Divine wisdom, and supported by Divine power in all *righteous* and *just* measures he may adopt, to secure the perpetuity of our free institutions, and the maintenance of our National Constitution.—*Minutes Northwest Indiana Conference*, p. 34.

*Rock River Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Ottawa, Illinois, commencing September 19, 1866 :

When political issues involve moral questions, or threaten the existence of civil or religious liberty, we hold it to be the duty of all men and especially of all Christians to make declaration of their faith and re-affirm their fidelity to right and justice.

Attempts have been made and are still being made by those lately in rebellion, and by those who sympathized with them, to accomplish by policy what they failed to reach by arms, and your Committee being satisfied that the results of the late civil war can only be secured and perpetuated for freedom by the maintenance of a high standard of moral integrity, we de-

plore the existence of manifest sympathy between those high in civil authority and those who so lately have fought to destroy that authority.

We deplore the conduct and the speeches of our Chief Magistrate as exhibited and uttered in his late visit to our State, conduct and speeches which converted an approach to the grave of a great statesman into a disgraceful exhibition of vulgarity and profanity, manifesting an entire disregard of both personal and official dignity and decency.

Disappointed in our reasonable expectations of peace after war, we solemnly protest against the injustice of assailing as traitors, and declaring war upon, men who sustained the Government in its peril, because of their refusal to reward rebels by grants of increased political power.

Deploing these evils and protesting against so great a wrong we recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, 1. That the grave complications which exist and are threatened in our civil affairs demand thoughtful consideration and increased vigilance on the part of the people, and such an expression of their will through the polls as shall rebuke the assumption of dictatorial power by the Executive, and assure the world that the Government of this land is "of the people, for the people and by the people."

2. That reading in the Book of the law the command "Ye shall have one manner of laws, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country;" and remembering that freedmen of the South assisted in achieving the victories of the war, we believe that it would be an act of the foulest injustice and one invoking the Divine displeasure to leave those who fought for the Union under the political control of those who fought against the Union, and we urge our solemn protest against a policy of reconstruction which has disarmed the friends and armed the foes of the nation and culminated in the atrocious massacres at Memphis and New Orleans.

3. That we believe the time has fully come when the sense of justice in the North should respond to the cry for protection of loyal men in the South, and ordain impartial suffrage for all men unstained with crime.—*Minutes Rock River Conference*, p. 27.

*Central Illinois Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Lexington, Illinois, commencing September 19th, 1866:

Your Committee on the State of the Country beg leave to report:

That in regard to political matters which have no moral bearing, if there are such, we would not, as Christians, assume any partizan relations; but we consider the great questions which now agitate the public mind, inseparably connected with the essential principals of morality and religion; and upon their correct solution, the welfare of unnumbered millions, who shall inhabit this country, now depends.

We are persuaded that the dominant party in the lately rebellious States, are not disposed to deal justly with the Freedmen, and that justice can not be secured to them, nor the pledges, made during the war, fulfilled, if their late oppressors are restored to power without restriction and restraint from the general government.

We also believe that our national legislation devolves, by the Constitution, upon the Congress of the U. S., and that each House must determine the qualifications of its members; and that our present Congress, in refusing seats to men who are still rebels at heart, and sent from States which are virtually in rebellion, merits the approval of every American patriot. Therefore,

*Resolved*, 2. That no less vigilance and earnest effort are required of Christian patriots now, than at any time during the past six years.

*Resolved, 5.* That, as Ministers, we consider it, not only our right, but our duty, to exhibit the moral bearings of political questions, and urge upon Christians, that religion should always modify and direct in all their political action.—*Minutes Central Illinois Conference, p. 29.*

*Illinois Conference.*—Adopted at the session held in Bloomington, September 19th to 25th, 1866 :

The appointment of a committee on the state of the country argues the right of the Christian Church to use its influence to guard the moral issues, and to secure and maintain the civil and religious rights of all loyal citizens.

But since the assembling of the Congress of the United States, last December, the President has gradually unveiled a course of policy that has awakened the deepest anxiety in every patriot heart through the land.

He has refused to acquiesce in the will of the people, as expressed by their legal representatives.

He has spoken the highest evil of a co-ordinate branch of the general government, in his severe censures of the American Congress.

He has refused to execute laws because they were not in accordance with his policy.

He has insinuated the overthrow of the legal and loyal Congress of the United States, and the substituting of a Congress of late rebels and those who sympathize with them, in its place.

He has refused protection, in many instances, to loyal and philanthropic teachers of loyal colored people in the South.

He has given his approbation to legislation made by the Southern States, so cruel and unjust to the freedmen, as to make their condition little better than slavery itself.

His policy makes him responsible for the wholesale massacre of Union statesmen and Union citizens in the city of New Orleans.

He has removed from office thousands of the true and tried friends of the country, appointed by the great and good Mr. Lincoln, and has filled many of their places with those whose hands were lately dripping with the blood of our countrymen, or those who smiled at their success.

He is supported principally by disloyal newspapers; and disloyal leaders, chagrined with past defeat, are threatening again to renew civil strife and the carnage of war in our midst.

All these bad omens, originating with the official head of the nation, lead us to the conclusion that if his policy is successful, "the wicked will rule, and the nation will mourn."—*Minutes Illinois Conference, p. 21.*

*Southern Illinois Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Centralia, Illinois, September 19th to 24th, 1866 :

*Resolved, 2.* That we have full confidence in the integrity of Congress, and that we heartily approve their measures for the reconstruction of the Union.—*Minutes Southern Illinois Conference, p. 45.*

*Illinois Ministerial Convention.*—Adopted at a Convention of the Rock River, Central Illinois, Illinois, and Southern Illinois Conferences, held in Bloomington, Illinois, September 25th, 1866 :

In presenting a report on the State of the Country, we congratulate the Church that no preamble is needed asserting our loyalty. The great and good and martyred President affirmed it when he wrote, "It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to Heaven than any," and he added, "God bless the Methodist Church—bless all the Churches; and blessed be God who, in this our great trial, giveth us the Churches."

We offer for adoption by the four Conferences we represent, the following:

*Resolved*, 1. That we feel profoundly thankful to the God of our fathers, that He led them to put into the creed of the M. E. Church the twenty-third article of religion which makes it impossible to be untrue to the government without being false to our religious vows, and which denies church membership to disloyal citizens.

2. That we have, under God, a firm and abiding confidence in the perpetuity of our government, the patriotism of the American people, and in the wisdom and integrity of our National Congress.

3. That we approve all the amendments of the Constitution adopted by Congress which abolish slavery, disfranchise the leaders of the rebellion, guarantee the National War Debt, repudiate the rebel war debt, and fix the representation in Congress on the just and equitable basis of the voting population, and that we will use our utmost efforts to secure their ratification, remembering the injunction: Ye shall have one manner of laws, as well for the stranger as for your own countrymen," and, regarding the present and anticipated complication of our National affairs—

4. That we believe that the time is fully come when the sense of justice in the North, responding to the cry for protection coming from Loyal men in the South, should ordain impartial suffrage for all men unstained with crime.—*Minutes Illinois Conference*, p. 23.

*Detroit Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Hudson, Michigan, September 5th to 10th, 1866:

The state of the country is still one of peril. When the rebel army surrendered and the Confederacy collapsed, and the arch-traitor, Jefferson Davis, was taken prisoner by Michigan troops, we thought the war was over. We thought that we had, under God, vindicated the authority of the Government, secured freedom of speech and of the press, and a free elective franchise to all loyal men, and that treason would become odious, and traitors be made to tremble before the majesty of the law.

We had no idea that prominent traitors would ever attempt to rule this nation. We supposed, indeed, that treason would be so punished that traitors, prominent in the rebellion, would be glad to escape from the country with their lives.

We rejoiced with joy unspeakable in the triumph of freedom and of law, and in the hopes that the struggles of the barbarisms of slavery against the blessings of a Christian civilization were forever at an end.

We paid a price for this triumph which can never be estimated: hundreds of thousands of precious lives, billions of treasure, and, at last, the life of him who was the embodiment of patriotism and political wisdom, and who commanded the confidence and affection of the nation as no other man since Washington had ever done. When he fell, we endeavored to forget our sorrow in the hope that his successor would carry out his principles, only more directly and strongly in their opposition to treason. With trustfulness and affection, and with earnest desires for his success, we never ceased to pray that he might be guided by divine wisdom in re-establishing the Government upon a permanent basis, founded in justice and political



equality. But how sadly has our confidence been betrayed. He in whom we desired to trust with all our hearts is now giving aid and comfort to those who have been, and still are, the determined and relentless enemies of the Government.

But, sad as it is to say it, our battles are not over ; our war is not ended. When we looked up for the bright-winged dove of peace, lo ! the dark-winged vultures of treason and slavery again darkened the heavens ! The sword is but exchanged for the arts of diplomacy. Ballots are relied upon to accomplish what bullets could not do.

A system of wholesale bribery is brought into requisition to sustain the policy of one man against the true and faithful representatives of the loyal masses of the country. True to her long-established character for patriotism and unswerving devotion to the right, the Methodist Episcopal Church can always be relied upon to resist all such efforts to corrupt the people by bribes in the form of Executive patronage, to return the freedmen to practical bondage by giving them over, unprotected, to their old masters, whose tender mercies are cruelties, to suppress the freedom of speech and of the press, and to encourage the murder of our brethren and fellow-citizens, whose only crime is their devotion to the Government and to the rights of freemen.

The members of that church which, according to our martyred President, (O that God had spared him to us for this hour !) "sent more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to Heaven for the country, than any other," has a right to demand the protection of that Government which she has done so much to save. We do demand it. We must and will have protection for our lives and property, and freedom, unmolested, to disseminate intelligence and a free gospel throughout all our land. What we demand for ourselves we also demand for all true friends of the Government, without regard to complexion or former relations to society.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this Conference that all loyal citizens, without distinction of race or color, should enjoy the equal protection of the laws.

2. *Resolved*, That the double crime of perjury and treason committed by those who have held office under Government, and afterwards rebelled against it, swearing allegiance to a power designed for its overthrow, should forever hereafter disqualify them for any office, civil or military, in the United States.

3. *Resolved*, That, in our opinion, any conditions of settlement between the Government and the rebels less stringent than these, will not meet the claims of justice, the approbation of God, or secure the permanent peace and unity of the nation.

4. *Resolved*, That it is for the interest of the Government, as well as of the Kingdom of Christ, that our churches and free schools should be established as rapidly as possible in the Southern States, that, having a common education and a common religion, we may have a homogeneous civilization, and a united, permanent, and prosperous country.—*Minutes Detroit Conference*, p. 44.

*Wisconsin Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Ripon, Wisconsin, September 6th to 10th, 1866 :

2. In the ordainment of nationality for the world, we recognize God's great wisdom and great beneficence. The civil power is His constabulary force—His system of police, by which He intends the keeping of the world's peace, and the protection of its religious and secular interests.—We accept it, and all other of the creations and ordainments of God for this world,

as an instrument for service in His kingdom, and subordinate to true religion, and while serving its great ends, should be entirely controlled by its great moralities. While we disclaim, totally, that use of the civil power, which coerces a religion or its support on any people, we most solemnly insist that it is the clear right and imperative duty of Christian men, ministers and churches, to constantly apply the moral tests of Christianity to national men and measures, by written or oral mode, by a private or public speech. We regard the politician or political party opposing such criticism as self-conscious of just obnoxiousness to such test, and therefore deprecating its application. We pledge ourselves, notwithstanding the clamor of unprincipled politicians, to continued and increased faithfulness in the exercise of this sacred trust.

3. We believe that this world, outside of Christianity, is necessarily incompetent for itself and its ends—does not understand the world's proper uses, or their proper methods. We believe that Christianity only can furnish the genius, the honor, the heroism and the self-sacrifice necessary to the institution and sustainment of a christian government, and that whenever or wherever it has been attempted, irrespective of such agency, the result has been worse than a blunder. We therefore insist that religious men shall not withhold themselves from political and civil duty—that they shall not be influenced in action by unprincipled men, but serve God and their country, with their suffrages, as an important part of their Christian work.

4. We join with the intelligent and loyal of the land, in acknowledgment of the patriotism, prudence and steadfastness of the national congress, in the performance of its duties through the present trying crisis of the nation.

5. We confess that we share the nation's grief and mortification, that the national executive headship has such unfortunate representation. It is a matter of deep regret, that, when praying for the removal of obstructions to the national prosperity, we are confronted with the unwelcome thought, that conspicuous among these obstructions, if not the principle, is the present chief executive of the nation.

It is too obvious to admit of a doubt, that elevation to office which refined the sensibilities and heightened the rectitude of Mr. Lincoln, has the contrary effect of personal and official demoralization upon his successor. With the latter, ascent in office sinks correspondingly the man. Instability, inconsistency, and change for the worse, are conspicuous among his present characteristics. His seeming promise of patriotism and fidelity in the past, has no fulfillment in the present. His policy, in effect, is a desertion of the nation's cause, and a betrayal of its interests. It encourages the wholesale massacre of the nation's friends—it abandons the freedmen to the intensified cruelty of their former oppressors—it eliminates crime from rebellion, and surrenders those principles, without which, its repetition is encouraged, and its suppression made impracticable. In brief, it makes the great sacrifices of the war void, and of no effect.

In the movement of the President and his associates through the country now occurring, in which is involved the nation's treasure and reputation, we see abundant evidence that the ostensible is not the real object—that under the pretense of patriotism and nationality, partisan and mischievous ends are sought, by means most unusual and unmagisterial.

The advisers and willing associates of the President in this affair, we regard as sharing with him the responsibility of the hypocrisy and national dishonor involved.—*Minutes Wisconsin Conference, p. 31.*

*West Wisconsin Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Hazel Green, Wisconsin, commencing August 29th, 1866 :

In reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, with the events of another year before us, we think as heretofore, that though we would gladly receive and fellowship individuals who are thoroughly satisfied with our present rule, requiring *loyalty* to the government, and heartily concur in our *anti-slavery* status, yet to receive them as a body, irrespective of these rules, would be to absorb the seeds of corruption, discord and contention.—*Minutes West Wisconsin Conference, p. 19.*

The state of the country in the States lately in rebellion is of the most deplorable character. The Executive of the United States has failed to make treason odious, as he promised, and the late rebels are rebels still. Wholesale murders of Union men, both black and white, are being committed, and ten thousand freedmen, besides hundreds of whites, are said to have fallen victims to their cruelty. And what adds to the poignancy of our grief, is the fact that the policy and measures of the President seem to have given encouragement to those “deeds of darkness and hard earned infamy;” and as government troops are being removed from points of protection to loyalists, a still worse state of things is feared.

In view of these things we offer the following :

*Resolved.* That in our view the policy and measures of the President, in reference to rebels, are highly detrimental to the permanent peace and prosperity of the country.

*Resolved.* That our only hope, under God, for our safety is the Congress, and the patriotism of the people.—*Ibid, p. 21.*

*North-West Wisconsin Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Prescott, Wisconsin, September 12th to 17th, 1866 :

We are fully convinced that at no time in the history of the past has there been more depending on the christian patriotism of our fellow countrymen than at the present time. The conflict has changed from the fields of carnage and death to halls legislative and executive. But the dangers that beset the Republic are none the less.

We tremble when we see many both in church and state who by their zeal and devotion to the cause of liberty in former days of trial and gloom had ennobled and endeared themselves to a grateful people, now joining hands with those who still hope by intrigue and executive patronage to achieve that which they failed to accomplish through rebellion and war. But the duty of the christian patriot is plain. Let the representatives of the people—“the representatives of liberty”—be sustained. Through the ballot box let the ranks of our noble Congress be strengthened with liberty loving men, men that will stand firm against executive usurpation, firm for the cause of truth and the liberty of the whole people, men who only fear to do wrong. Therefore,

*Resolved.* That we as a Conference will use our influence to procure such men for offices of public trust.

*Resolved, 2.* That it is the duty of all patriots to stand by Congress who shall hold the reins of government with an unflinching grasp until the Church with its christianizing influence shall educate and elevate the mind of the southern people above the rule of Political Demagogues.—*Minutes North West Wisconsin Conference, p. 15.*

*Resolved, 3.* That we as preachers of the N. W. Wisconsin Conference ignore any policy in our civil government that does not recognize in the Freedmen, either of the South or the North, the right of suffrage.

*Resolved*, 4. That we renew our efforts in the great moral and political conflict, to restore the Freedmen of our nation to our own much cherished and God given rights of "*Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.*"—*Ibid* 16.

*Iowa Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Knoxville, Iowa, September 26th to October 1st, 1866 :

Christians have strangely forgotten their duty in politics, thinking the stream too polluted for them to mingle in, and demagogues have endeavored to close the mouths of ministers of the gospel. Thus, the politics of the nation, and, to too great an extent, its whole government has been left to unprincipled men. The war has ceased, and our brave soldiers have returned to the avocations of peace ; yet great principles are to be settled, principles which, if not rightly settled, the God of nations will hold us to a strict account :

1. Therefore, *Resolved*, That it is the duty of Christian men to attend all primary meetings, and secure the nomination of only good men for office.

2. That we deplore the present unhappy difficulty between the President and Congress ; and cannot too deeply feel the humiliation of our nation in seeing her chief-magistrate passing through the country and haranguing the people, after the manner of the lowest politicians.

3. That the nation owes a debt of gratitude it can never repay to those noble men in Congress who have so firmly adhered to the principles of loyalty and justice, and maintained the government intact against rebel foes and a demoralizing administration.

4. That the time has fully come when impartial suffrage and equal representation should be extended to all, as the only sure method of securing peace and safety to the whole country.

5. That the loyal men of the south, whether black or white, deserve the protection of the Government and the sympathy of all patriots.—*Minutes Iowa Conference*, p. 21.

*Upper Iowa Conference*.—Adopted at the session held at Decorah, Iowa, commencing September 12th, 1866 :

*Resolved*, That we heartily endorse the course pursued by our noble Representatives and Senators, who, amid bribery and corruption, remained true to the principles of Justice, Liberty and Truth, and also of those incorruptible patriots, late members of the Cabinet, who have severed their connection therewith.

*Resolved*, That we believe that "Treason should be made odious," that all men irrespective of race and color, should be "equal before the law," that loyalty should rule the nation, and that States lately in rebellion should not be allowed representation in Congress, without the guarantees required by Congress.

*Resolved*, That we deplore the abandonment, by our Chief Magistrate, of those noble principles he once avowed, arraying himself against the Legislative and Judicial departments of our Government, identifying himself with those lately in arms against the Government, and using all the power of Executive patronage in organizing a new party upon corrupt principles, which, if successful, would restore traitors whose hands are red with blood, to the highest offices of the State and nation.

In conclusion, we firmly believe it the duty and mission of the Christian Church to endeavor to secure and appropriate the whole country, with all its resources—its press, its wealth, and its educational institutions, for the spread of Christianity throughout the world.—*Minutes Upper Iowa Conference*, p. 13.

*Des Moines Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Boonsboro, Iowa, August 22–27, 1866 :

*Resolved*, That while the fiendish and rebellious spirit lately manifested in certain parts of our country cause us to fear that the peace of the nation may again be broken, and war with all its horrors come upon us, yet we have the utmost confidence in the care and justice of our Heavenly Father, and in the virtue and patriotism of our people.

*Resolved*, That we renew our pledges of eternal fidelity to the principles of loyalty to the government, and the rights of all men ; and we believe the only way to secure and perpetuate these rights, is to make all men equal before the law.

*Resolved*, That we have confidence in the integrity, wisdom and loyalty of the pretent Congress of the United States, and we will pray that God may direct and encourage them in support of the principles of justice and equal rights.—*Minutes Des Moines Conference*, p. 23.

*Minnesota Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Red-Wing, Min., September 19–24, 1866 :

The Committee on the state of the Country beg leave to report, that though war has ceased, yet the spirit of revolt is still alive, and that “ eternal vigilance ” is still “ the price of liberty.” That every attempt to institute inequality before the law, or to establish caste on account of color or race, should be resisted at the ballot box, with the same patriotic vigilance and zeal that crushed the rebellion on the battle-field.

That all the obligations of benevolence, patriotism and Christianity demand the protection of the Freedmen in all the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And that we re-confirm the geographical lines, and re-endorse the constitutional law, by which all the sister States are indivisibly and perpetually bound together. But while we waive all claims of indemnity for past wrongs, we do require security for the future, before we restore the forfeited power to the men by whom we have been injured ; therefore,

*Resolved*, That we heartily approve of the proposed amendment of the Constitution, and earnestly recommend such measures as shall protect the rights of the Freedmen.—*Minutes Minnesota Conference*, p. 45.

*Kansas Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Baldwin City, Kan., commencing March 15, 1866 :

*Resolved*, That in the glorious victory which we have achieved, we recognize the hand of that omnipotent Being who holds the destiny of nations at his bidding, and we behold in them the ascendancy of those great and fundamental principles of free government, the acknowledgment of those unalienable rights of *man*, prominent among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

*Resolved*, That we again renew our devotion to these principles, which are now consecrated to us by the blood of so many of our brethren and fellow citizens, and pledge in the future, as in the past, our cordial support to the Legislative, Judiciary and Executive departments of our government, in the maintenance thereof—ever ready to admonish them of the truth of that decree which ordains of *old*, that “ they who do not rule in righteousness shall perish from off the earth.”

*Resolved*, That we fully comprehend the magnitude of the field which is

thus opened to our Church, and that we will use all our endeavors to go in and occupy and raise up in it a loyal people, zealous of good works unto the Lord.—*Minutes Kansas Conference, p. 37.*

*Resolved*, That we rejoice in the fidelity of the majority of Congress, in steadily opposing the admission of disloyal persons from the Southern States, as representatives; and we hope that the time may never come when treason shall have a voice in making laws for the government of this country.—*Ibid*, 56.

*Colorado Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at Empire, Col., commencing June 20, 1866 :

WHEREAS, The victories of war may be turned to defeats in Cabinet and Congress, and

WHEREAS, Patriots to questions of war may be traitors to principles of peace, and

WHEREAS, Treason is a crime against national law, and odious to the moral sense of an enlightened christianity, therefore

*Resolved*, That we believe it to be the duty of Congress in setting up barriers against treason, to admit to equal legal and political rights, all loyal men, whether they have or have not heretofore enjoyed such privileges.

*Resolved*, That in making treason odious, its leaders should be tried and punished, while all traitors should be debarred from the exercise of political rights and suffrages, until the lapse of sufficient time and satisfactory repentance shall have wrought political regeneration from treason to loyalty.

*Resolved*, That we are thankful for the success attending the efforts of our Church to extend the borders of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the sections heretofore occupied by the Church South, in the establishment of the religion of freedom from all bonds, temporal and spiritual.—*Minutes Colorado Conference, p. 7.*

*California Conference.*—Adopted at the session held at San Jose, Cal., September 19–26, 1866 :

Your Committee appointed to consider and to report on the state of the country, do not think it necessary to go into a discussion of public affairs at this time, and therefore present the following resolutions, which it is hoped will express with sufficient distinctness and emphasis the opinions of the Conference, on those leading topics of public interest which involve moral and religious principles :

*Resolved*, 1. That in the constitution of governments and the administration thereof, a sound public "policy" requires the recognition of the manhood of every human being, and the application to public affairs of the rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye the same unto them;" and that as it is a fundamental truth, without which a democratic government cannot stand, that "All men are created free and equal," all laws making distinction among them in respect to civil or political rights on account of race or color, are as unwise and unsafe as they are undemocratic and unchristian.

*Resolved*, 2. That we are in favor of the amendment of the Constitution of the United States now referred to the several States for approval, believing it to be one of the essentials of a permanent reconstruction of the Union, and to be an equitable limitation of political power in States which deny the right of voting to any of their adult male citizens.

*Resolved*, 3. That the whole power of the Government should be em-

ployed in protecting loyal men of every color, and specially the defenseless freedmen, against lawless violence, and that the Administration which will suffer discharged soldiers, white or black, who have exposed their lives upon the field of bloody conflict for the life of the nation, or any other loyal men, to be stricken down by mob violence or secret assassination on account of their devotion to their country, without avenging the wrong to the utmost of its power, is obnoxious to the burning indignation of an outraged people.—*Minutes California Conference, p. 19.*

*Tennessee Conference.*—Adopted at its first session, held at Murfreesboro, Tenn., commencing Oct. 11, 1866:

In the establishment of the American Republic, the destructive dogma of inequality of human rights was incorporated into its organic laws, and the terrible struggle through which we have just passed is the legitimate results of this grave compromise with evil, therefore

1. *Resolved*, That it is with profound gratitude to Almighty God, that we are able to record that the people of this country have learned a valuable lesson from this terrific struggle between right and wrong, and have fully determined that no more compromises with injustice shall be made, and are now laying the foundation of our political institutions upon the broad and enduring basis of equal and exact justice to all men.

2. *Resolved*, That the enactments of the xxxix Congress of the United States are of a character to commend themselves to the loyal men of all sections of our country, and as a Conference we will support Congress as the people's representatives, by every legitimate means in our power.

3. *Resolved*, That as a Republican Government embraces the idea of self-government, which finds expression in the right to select representatives, therefore, all men affected by government, either in person or property, should have a voice in the selection of their rulers, subject to those qualifications only, by which all men are alike effected.—*Minutes Tennessee Conference, p. 17.*

*Mississippi Mission Conference.*—Adopted at its second session, held in New-Orleans, La., commencing Dec. 13, 1866:

The relations of the church to civil government are clearly defined in the Bible. \* \* \* The church's mission is general and specific—to the world, to each individual. \* \* \* Her appeal must be to the national as well as the individual conscience, quickening it and purging it from dead works to serve the living God, teaching nations and governments that they must be *pure*, that they may dwell in peace and unity and be prosperous and permanent.

Such being the relation and duty of the Church to the State, she cannot apologize for having reproofed, rebuked and exhorted, with all long suffering and doctrine, sins and sinners in high places. Much less can she consent that her messengers shall be dumb and her pulpits silent on any subject pertaining to public morals. 'On all these it becomes her to speak as one having authority. No individual, no party, no corporation, state or nation should be allowed to escape her watch-care, her wise counsel, and, if need be, her withering rebuke.

The church, thus contributing to the weal of the civil government, has a right to claim its protection.

2. *Resolved*, That we call upon the general government to see to it that the inalienable rights proclaimed and established by our fathers, and en-

grafted by them in the Constitution of the United States, and reasserted by the nation upon the battle-field and at the ballot-box, be guaranteed to all, and that our citizens of every color and clime be protected in their persons, property, business, life, liberty and religion.—*Minutes Mississippi Mission Conference*, p. 20.

What further proof do we need of the political character of the M. E. Church than is contained in the foregoing political platforms, adopted in one year by thirty of her annual Conferences scattered throughout the United States? These platforms not only prove the political character of the M. E. Church, but also her partisan relation and spirit. They show her to be connected with, and engaged in, the interest of one of the political parties of the land, and in deadly opposition to the other. Democrats are denounced as "*copperheads*," *rebel sympathizers*, *traitors to God, to humanity, and to their country*, while Republicans have the pledge of the support and influence of the Church.

Mr. Lincoln is exalted to Heaven, while President Johnson is bitterly denounced as a *traitor* to the Government, and as undeserving the confidence of every honest man. Mr. Johnson is not acknowledged President of these United States in that the Presidential "*chair*" is declared "*vacant*." The most radical measures of the radical Congress are not only endorsed but encouraged in opposition to the President's policy.

The M. E. Church not only claims the right, in her councils, to discuss the political issues of the day, but assumes to dictate the duty and policy of the entire Government. Pledges and vows are made in the most solemn manner to carry out certain political principles and measures. Negro equality—civil, political, ecclesiastical and social—is urged upon the people. It is claimed that the M. E. Church was a party in the civil war, that she sent more soldiers to the battle than any other Church of "The Prince of Peace." It is defined as the duty of Christians to pray for the removal of the the present Chief Magistrate of these United States. It is claimed to be the "duty and mission of the Church to secure and appropriate the whole country, with all its resources—its press, its wealth and its educational institutions—for the spread" of this kind "of Christianity throughout the world." The General Government is declared to be under obligation to the M. E. Church.

Demands of the most peremptory character are made upon



the authorities of the Federal Government to favor the M. E. Church as a body. It is maintained that it is to the interest of the Government that the M. E. Church be established throughout the South. In these platforms, ministers of the M. E. Church solemnly pledge themselves as ministers to "renew their efforts in the great political conflict" of the day. The punishment of "traitors," the enfranchisement of negroes, and the disfranchisement of a very large portion of the white population of the country are prominent planks in the political platforms of the Church. The "reconstruction" policy is also laid down. These and many other things which I have not space to mention, are set forth, declared, and advocated in these platforms.

Let it be understood that these platforms were adopted by not less than three thousand ministers, representing every part and department of the M. E. Church.

If the M. E. Church has the right, in her general and annual Conferences, to adopt regular political platforms, to discuss the political issues of the day, to dictate the policy of the Government, to pledge her support to a political party, and to enter the arena of political conflict, all of which she has done, according to her own record, has she not the same right to nominate and support candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of these United States, for Congress, and for all the various civil offices in the gift of the people? Is there not as much propriety in the one as in the other?

#### THE ENTIRE PRESS OF THE M. E. CHURCH POLITICAL.

As proof that the entire press of the M. E. Church is political I subjoin the following extract from the *North-Western Christian Advocate*, an official organ of said Church, published at Chicago :

"Our Churches and religious press are now involved in the national controversies, and they ought to be; for there are few of our present public questions which do not involve ethical principles. The religion of the country did much to save it in the late war. We all saw instinctively, or at least intuitively, that the neutrality of the Church would then have been iniquitous if not fatal. That was a grand discovery; it led to the restoration of one of the sublimest rights and functions of the pulpit and religious press, a right which they had nearly lost by their comparative and long quiescence on public affairs, but which they will hereafter tenaciously maintain.

"The whole Methodist press is now, we believe, without an exception, on one side of the present national controversy. It is thoroughly 'radical' for the restoration of the Southern States on the most uncompromised principles

of universal rights and loyalty; the rebuke and legal punishment of treason, the protection of Southern loyalists, the enfranchisement and elevation of our emancipated population, and the stern repression of every remnant of the rebellion. That press is a power in the land; we doubt whether there is another journalistic power equal to it. It cannot be bribed and it cannot be intimidated, and, as it appeals to the moral sense, the conscience of its millions of readers, it wields a force which may, in the highest sense, be called the 'balance of power.' The political leaders of the hour seem not to be aware of its capacity, if, indeed, of its existence. It would be well for them to take account of it. They will not fail to do so in the issue, if not earlier."—*North-Western Christian Advocate, Autumn, 1866.*

According to one of her own official organs, the M. E. Church is a political body, "involved in national controversies." The whole press of the Church, without an exception, is here said to be on one side of the political questions of the day, and "thoroughly radical." The neutrality of the Church in politics is regarded as "iniquitous." Political intermeddling is put down as a "*grand discovery*." Dabbling in politics is defined as "*one of the sublimest rights and functions of the pulpit and religious press*," and as "a right which they will hereafter tenaciously maintain." The press of the M. E. Church is declared to be "a power in the land," and "political leaders" are admonished to take account of it."

Now all these things, contained in this short extract from one of the leading official journals of the M. E. Church, set forth, in the clearest possible light, the *intense radical political* position of that Church, and her entire press. By her own witnesses she stands convicted of political intermeddling.

But this is not all. So utterly lost is the M. E. Church to all sense of propriety, and to her high calling as a Christian body, that she can boast of her extreme political attitude. When men high in position in the M. E. Church talk of political intermeddling being "*one of the sublimest rights and functions of the pulpit and religious press*," and as "a right which they will hereafter tenaciously maintain," I see no prospect of the Church ever ceasing to be a political body.

#### POLITICAL PREACHING.

As evidence of the political character of the Northern Methodist pulpit, I present the following extracts from a pamphlet entitled "Providence and Our Country," containing what is styled a "Thanksgiving Discourse," delivered in the city of Canton,

Illinois, December 7th, 1865, by Rev. J. G. Evans, a member of the Central Illinois Conference of the M. E. Church :

"OFFER UNTO GOD THANKSGIVING."—PS. L, 14.

A great political party, once true and honorable, but now possessing only one single mark of *honor* or *respectability*, viz: that of age, and that only in name, formed near the beginning of the rebellion the deep laid scheme of withdrawing their support from the government, giving their sympathies to the rebels for their encouragement, and thus of embarrassing the administration until, to save the nation from dissolution, and the people from the great suffering that must have followed the breaking up of our government, it would be necessary to abandon the war and compromise with rebels upon their own terms, securing the nationality and controlling power of slavery. With such an issue, this party could easily have formed a coalition with the slaveholders of the South, and made themselves the rulers of the land, until God should have destroyed them and the nation for their wickedness. But the God of nations has a different destiny for this country. He overruled their wicked designs; the rebellion has been conquered and slavery is dead; and the course pursued by the party referred to, in withholding their support from the government, and in giving their sympathy to rebels in arms, instead of elevating them, as they had hoped, to the possession of public confidence, and giving them the control of the government, that they might heartlessly oppress the poor and unscrupulously fatten at the *public crib*, has made them a hiss and a by-word among the people, and a stench in the nostrils of the nation.

The "Knights of the Golden Circle" have controlled the party, and brought its entire influence as an organization over to the side of the rebels. These Northern Tories have not had the honor and manliness of even the rebels of the South, who have at least shown their bravery. Jeff. Davis, though he deserves to hang for his treason, is a gentleman in comparison with the "*fire in the rear*" party in the North. The history of that party will amply justify everything I have said concerning its treasonable character. It proclaimed the "right of secession;" it pronounced the "war for the suppression of the rebellion unconstitutional;" it encouraged secession by promising its friends in the South that the Government should not coerce them into obedience; it threatened a "*fire in the rear*" if the Government should undertake to conquer the rebels; it boasted that the streets of "Northern cities should run with blood" before the Government should compel their Southern friends to submit; it warned patriots of the North that they "would have to walk over dead bodies" before they could reach the land of Southern traitors; it misrepresented and opposed whatever the Government did for the suppression of the rebellion; it complained when the draft was ordered, to raise men to save the country, and incited the vicious to deeds of bloodshed; it howled at the commutation clause in the conscription bill, and howled louder still when that clause was repealed; it was scared into a fright at the thought of having a man of color to fight for the Union, but made no complaint at his presence in the armies of the rebels; as in a fit of rage, it set up a perfect howl when a traitor was sent to Fort Lafayette, but expressed no sympathy for those noble Union men who were shut up in Southern prisons and starved to death for their patriotism; it represented the patriot soldiers as vandals devastating the country of an innocent and an outraged people, while it had no censure for the unparalleled barbarity of the rebel leaders and soldiers; it ever magnified any seeming want of humanity on the part of our soldiers, but never seemed to have heard of the sufferings at Libby Prison, Andersonville and Belle Isle; it abused our government, when it had reverses, and praised the skill of rebel generals; it gave the Government no credit when our army gained victories; it vilified our army officers who struck hard, telling blows upon

the rebellion, and was loud in the praises of those generals who were either traitors or incompetent ; it declared that the further prosecution of the war tended to the subversion of the constitution and the overthrow of the government ; it declared the war to be a failure, and demanded that it should be ended on the best terms the rebels might choose to grant us ; it abused and vilified the kindest-hearted President our country ever had, and fostered a spirit of bitterness and bloodshed until one of its members assassinated that noble President, and finally it submits to its defeat in the suppression of the rebellion with less grace than do the more honorable rebels in the South, who fought bravely—though in a bad cause—until overcome by superior force. I have no wish to revive sleeping animosities, by referring to this disreputable history, but it is a part of the history of the past four years, and the good of the country demands that these things be remembered. Let there be genuine contrition, open confession, and fruits meet for repentance, before those who have shown themselves so unworthy and dangerous be entrusted with positions of trust, influence and respectability.

With one dark and dreary exception,—*now soon to be removed*—our constitution has no clogs to the working of the great system of republicanism and human liberty.

The men of the South wildly and wickedly plotted treason against the government ; large numbers of a defeated party in the North sympathized with traitors in their efforts to overthrow the legally constituted authorities of our nation, and all this opposition to our republican government existed for the sole reason that they failed under the constitution to elect the man of their choice to the chief office in the gift of the people, and thereby secure the continued aggressions of the "*Slave Power*."

Stephen A. Douglas intended, by the introduction of the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill" to place himself in the *White House*, but to his bitter disappointment and great mortification, his act in behalf of the slave power placed his liberty-loving rival, Abraham Lincoln, the noblest son of Illinois, in the Presidential chair—and God is rapidly working the destruction of Slavery through the plot that was laid by southern disunionists and northern traitors for the destruction of this great temple of human liberty.

The repealing act in the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill" by which the Missouri compromise line was abolished, though conceived in iniquity and born in political corruption at the demand of slavery, was one of the most fortunate occurrences recorded in our nation's history, notwithstanding the late civil war, with all its horrors was precipitated upon us by that ruthless act. That pro-slavery measure was too bold a stroke to pass unnoticed, even by the lethargic, slumbering North, and a liberty-loving party was formed to resist, in a constitutional way, the further aggressions of the slave power. And because that power was about to be shorn of its aggressive strength, by which it proposed to nationalize Slavery and Democracy in its trial in the new world, a rebellion was inaugurated. Fields of carnage have been made red with the mingled blood of patriots and rebels, as they have contended on hundreds of battle-fields, in mortal combat, for and against the cause of liberty. But all this augurs far better for human liberty and the world's release from political enthrallment than would peace, with the onward march of the slave-power, until the nation's conscience had been blunted, and all inspirations of liberty had died out in the hearts of the people. Then would the tyrant have had full sway to oppress the poor, and destruction from the wrath of God must have overtaken our nation, when another grand failure of republicanism would have been shown in the world's history to discourage attempts for political liberty, and tighten the chains of monarchical despotism upon our race. As it is, there is hope for the future ; and we have great reason to be thankful this morning that the love of liberty only slumbered in the hearts of Northern free-men. It had not died. And at the call of their country more than a million and a half of noble patriots have answered, with their lives in their hands,

to offer as a sacrifice upon the altar of liberty. While others, sheltered from the sufferings of the camp, the fatigues of the march, the perils of a southern climate, and the dangers of the battle-field, cheerfully made suitable sacrifices at home, in submitting without a murmur to the derangement in money, business, trade and commerce, and the greater loss of fathers, husbands, sons and brothers; and also in giving for the aid of the government and the comfort of the soldiers and their families, showing that their hearts too were in the work. The ladies of our country have evinced a laborious and self-sacrificing patriotism well worthy the daughters of the *revolutionary fathers*. The faithful historian as he shall write up the history of the attempted destruction of liberty in our country, and its defense by the patriots of the North, will not forget the out-gushing sympathy and noble deeds of the loyal ladies of our land in caring for the patriot soldiery. Their leagues and aid-societies have done a work that in no other way could have been accomplished. All honor and thanks to them for their noble work in the cause of human liberty.

'Tis true, there have been those among us in the free North who, by their continual grumbling, petty fault-finding and bitter invectives, cast upon the loyal North and the administration, with an evident sadness at our triumphs, and satisfaction at the success of the insurrectionists, have shown their disloyalty to the government—their love for slavery and hatred of liberty,—evidencing their just claim, in company with southern rebels, to the full benefit of a portion of hemp, in the shape of a rope; but the time is rapidly approaching when no man can be found *so low* as to be willing to acknowledge even a distant relationship to the Tories of the present generation, who, though living in the loyal North, have given their sympathies upon the side of rebels in the great American conflict.

We find another reason for thankfulness in the fact that, while it became necessary for us to wield the sword in freedom's cause, we were spared the devastations of marching armies, and preserved from the brutal and fiendish depredations of unprincipled foes. God in his providence directed that the field of strife and of greater devastation and ruin should be upon the soil of rebels. Even our reverses, which we always regretted, may have been necessary to our final good. Had McDowell succeeded in reducing the fortifications at Manassas, and triumphantly passed on to Richmond, the strong probability is that the Rebellion would have been suppressed, and four millions of human beings still left under the yoke of a merciless bondage, and without even a blow being struck that should change the status of slavery in our government, or ultimate in the deliverance of the bondmen. These reverses were necessary to bring us to an appreciation of our dependence upon God, and a recognition of Jehovah as an eternal enemy to slavery. We should have expected reverses sufficient to impede the government and encourage the rebels, so as to enable them to hold out until our government should recognize God, not only as the Great Disposer of events, but as the great Abolitionist of the universe, whose will is the liberation of the captive, and justice and equity among men.

Infidelity had boldly made the charge that the religion of Christ, as represented by its professors in America, was a religion in league with oppression, and that its ministers raised not their voices against the oppressor.

There may have been too much ground for the charge; not that there is any fault in our holy religion, but that many of its professors failed to appreciate its requirements upon the subject of human liberty, and many of its ministers were too *time-serving* to proclaim the whole truth. But this charge can be made no more. For no sooner was the alarm sounded than the great christian heart of the nation was stirred. The evangelical churches of the loyal States—where there had been a free gospel—came forward to their country's rescue, and presented one unbroken front to the enemies of God and humanity.

They obtained the blessing of purification in ridding themselves of a

class of men who, from their sympathies with traitors, (if for no other reasons,) were a disgrace to the Christian name. The church, thus purified from its filth, stood through all the struggle, many of its members shooting bullets, and others casting ballots, both doing equal execution to the enemy. The American church has made for herself a history in the past four years on the side of human freedom that never can be erased nor forgotten. Her position is written not only in resolutions, but also in her noble deeds of charity toward suffering soldiers, in her uniform ballot in favor of freedom, and in the blood of many of her noblest sons.

The pulpit of our land has also been emancipated, and stands to-day in the enjoyment of its right to discuss all *moral questions*, without any concern as to their *political relations*. In years gone by, the pulpit has too often cowardly yielded the right to reprove political and national sins. Had the pulpit of this country been faithful to the cause of truth, and everywhere proclaimed fearlessly the teachings of God's word upon the subject of freedom, and His denunciations of oppression, and had applied these truths to the system of slavery found in our own country, that system would have been destroyed by the power of God's truth, without the fields of blood and carnage through which we have passed. God has made us pass through the severe ordeal of a civil war for the eradication of an evil that might have been peaceably abolished if the pulpit had not basely yielded to the clamor of corrupt political demagogues. "*Political preaching*" has been the standing cry of corrupt men with which to drive the pulpit from the presentation of any truth that might endanger the prospects of any *godless, political clique*. The poor simpletons who have been crying out against "*political preaching*" have never read the Bible enough to know that it is *full of politics*, and that a pure religion demands a pure national policy that shall recognize the natural rights of men and the sovereignty of God. This whole crusade that has been going on for a few years against political preaching—all this pretended zeal for the purity of religion and the reputation of the clergy—is the most transparent and shameless hypocrisy, originating with men who care as little for the purity of the pulpit and the reputation of the clergy as the Sultan does for the success of Christianity, or Pope Pius the ninth for the glorious triumph of Protestantism. And the few cowardly and worthless clergymen who unite with these political tricksters in denouncing "*political preaching*" betray hypocrisy equally glaring, by their frequent allusions to and denunciations of persecutions, inquisitions, St. Bartholomew massacres and government oppressions on the other side of the ocean, or in by-gone days. \* \* \* I find no words in our language sufficiently strong to express my contempt for the man who to-day occupies a christian pulpit, and yet gives utterance to sentiments of sympathy with the ignorant whiners about political preaching. By what they call "*political preaching and praying*," our land has been saved from ruin, and the fair temple of liberty has been preserved. The war has broken the spell that seemed to bind the pulpit under a servile obedience to the dictation of corrupt politicians. There has been a development of manhood and independence in the ministry, unknown since the days of the revolution. May God save us in the future from a cowardly or traitorous pulpit. The pulpit has never claimed the right or asked the privilege of discussing any question not clearly moral; but it does now boldly assert the right of traveling over the whole field of ethics, without being driven from its purpose by the barking of insignificant political demagogues, who possess neither good morals nor true patriotism, and who are fearfully lacking in common sense.

Traducers in Europe, rebels in the South, and copperhead traitors in the North all combined in their influence and exertions, have utterly failed to overthrow this government, or stop it in its onward march to a conquered and permanent peace, and a glorious future as the land of freedom.

The cowardly 'fire in the rear traitors' of the North, during the war, em-

barrassed the government in every possible way, encouraged the rebels; prolonged the war; murdered our fathers, husbands, brothers and sons upon the bloody battle-fields of the South; and made mourning fathers, weeping mothers, heart stricken widows and helpless orphans all over this beautiful and otherwise happy country. They were *foul* murderers of our brave boys, who were standing between us and a heartless despotism. But while with sadness we contemplate the existence of such a class of men in our country, every true Christian and every patriot will, with deep gratitude of heart, thank God to-day that our victories over traitors to God, humanity and their country have not been upon the battle-fields of the South alone, but also at the ballot-box. During the last years of the war, those *Northern knights of the copper circle,—conspiracy-forming, city-burning, secession-sympathising, slavery-loving, liberty-hating, and halter and hell deserving political descendants of Arnold, Burr and Calhoun, and relatives of Judas Iscariot*, were nearly every where beaten by overwhelming majorities. The intelligent man who loves his country and honors the boys who wore the blue, cannot fail to rejoice that such an overwhelming popular vote was poured out like floods of water to extinguish the '*fire in the rear*.' And the recent elections have evinced the unflinching determination of the people that both wings of the rebellion shall die and be buried together. Even New-Jersey has sounded the death-knell to her country's foes, and joined her sisters in the great army of liberty. And old Fulton, so long thought to be almost beyond the hope of a resurrection, has well nigh been redeemed. Another revolution of liberty's great wheel shall crush out the last vestige of sympathy for Southern traitors.

There may be here and there some *old rotten chunk left smoking*, but the work is effectually done, and liberty has received an impetus that shall carry us triumphantly forward in the van of freedom's hosts. The enemies of liberty and Democracy in America are passing through their death-struggle. The finishing stroke has been given, and they are now gasping for breath. Their death and a national thanksgiving may be properly associated together. Let their death be heralded as the beginning of better days, and let their funeral be celebrated by thanksgiving to God and songs of praise.

The foregoing extracts, presented merely as a fair specimen of political preaching, not only sets forth in the clearest possible light the political, partisan, sectional and warlike character of the Northern Methodist pulpit, but also the party and vindictive spirit of the clerical demagogues who occupy them.

Time-serving ministers have converted the Northern pulpit into a political rostrum, from which political questions are freely discussed upon the holy Sabbath, at the hour appointed for religious worship.

Democratic leaders, orators, candidates, principles, press, and all that pertain to the Democratic party, have been misrepresented, proscribed, and abused in the most shameful manner, from the sacred desk, while the principles and measures of the opposite party have been set forth and advocated on the Lord's day, amid the loud applause of a radical political audience. War, desolation, and extermination have been deemed appropriate pulpit topics. Inflammatory war speeches calculated to arouse the baser passions of the human heart, have issued forth

from the sacred desk. The most blood-thirsty speeches made during the whole of the civil war were delivered by these petty pulpit politicians. Even after the close of the war, when men making no profession of Christianity were disposed to treat the people of the South with a spirit of magnanimity, we find Bishop Simpson, of the M. E. Church, in the capacity of a minister of Christ, crying aloud for the blood of his countrymen, and demanding the life of every man in the Confederate service above a certain rank.

Ministers have even paused in the midst of the solemn services of the sanctuary to read the news of battle. Mob law has been advocated, and lawless mobs excited by the inflammatory speeches of professed ministers, both in and out of the pulpit. Abolitionism, together with the civil, political and social equality of the races, have been and are still sustained by the radical pulpit. The pulpit has given its influence to a party to carry elections. Sundays preceding elections have been set apart for this especial purpose. When Hon. C. L. Vallandigham was before the people of Ohio as candidate for Governor, the preachers of Cincinnati fixed upon the Sabbath previous to the day of the election to warn the members of their respective congregations not to vote for him.

Men were declared disloyal who could not endorse the measures of a radical administration.

The few ministers who chose, in their public ministrations, to be neutral upon the political issues of the day, were put down as guilty of treason by the super-loyal clergy. So utterly lost to all sense of propriety was one of these political preachers that, when called upon on one occasion to preach a funeral sermon, he entered into a discussion of the merits of the Dred Scott decision, to the great astonishment of his hearers upon that solemn occasion. Another of these pulpit politicians declared if Gen. McClellan was elected that there would be a jubilee in the South, a jubilee among copperheads in the North, and a jubilee in hell. Another said in a public speech that he would let the copperheads go to hell and be God damned. Another said he could see those who discouraged enlistment hanged upon the limb of a tree until they were dead, and then hang there until the birds eat the flesh from their bones, and then refused a decent burial. For an affectionate mother, wife or sister to influence her son, husband or brother, not to hazard his life by entering the army,



was deemed guilty of treason and deserving of death, by radical ministers.

Good and peaceable men have more than once come near losing their lives by the mob spirit excited by the inflammatory speeches and so-called sermons delivered by those professing to be called to preach "peace on earth and good will toward men." When peaceable, law-abiding and defenseless citizens, guilty of no crime but that of adhering to Democratic principles, were torn from their families by unlawful and arbitrary arrests, and incarcerated in sickly and filthy dungeons, these political preachers not only sanctioned these outrages, but rejoiced over them. An evidence of this may be seen in the foregoing extracts.

Thus have the pulpits of the North been most disgracefully polluted. But this is not all. These things are to be continued. Leading editors and ministers of the M. E. Church publicly declare it to be the right and duty of the pulpit to discuss political matters. They also tell us that the pulpit will never relinquish this right. In view of these things, no man can deny the political character of the Northern Methodist pulpit.

In 1861, only three days after the first radical President took his seat, Bishop Simpson visited Mr. Lincoln and demanded of him the appointment of members of the M. E. Church to offices in the civil government, and, at the same time, endeavored to convince the President that he was under obligations to appoint them, from the fact that the M. E. Church had supported him in his election. The same Bishop said that the Church ought to appoint a committee to wait upon candidates for office, and whichever candidate promises to do the right thing by the M. E. Church, then for the Church, as a body, not only to throw her votes in his favor, but also her entire influence. "He also said that Methodists ought not to vote so much for principle, but cast their ballot for those most likely to do the best for them as a religious body, irrespective of principle.

Now, if this is not placing the Church in the market with a proposition to sell out to the highest political bidder, then language conveys no meaning. I close on this point by giving the learned Dr. Adam Clarke's opinion of political preachers:

The necessity of keeping the doctrine of the Gospel uncorrupt, is strongly inculcated in the caution to avoid the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod; the doctrine of the cross must not only be observed and held invio-

late, but that doctrine must never be mixed with worldly politics. *Time-serving* is abominable in the sight of God; it shows that the person has either no *fixed principle* of religion, or that he is not under the *influence* of any.—*Clark's Commentary, Mark, end of Chap. viii.*

These persons, forgetful not only of their calling, but of the very spirit of the Gospel, read the account of a battle with the most violent emotions; and, provided the victory falls to their favourite side, they exult and triumph in proportion to the number of thousands that have been slain! It is no wonder if such become political preachers, and their sermons be no better than husks for swine. To such *the hungry sheep look up, and are not fed.* God pity such miserable Athenians, and direct them to a more *suitable* employment!—*Ibid, Acts, xvii, 21.*

#### CHURCH DESECRATION.

Houses of worship, built for and dedicated to the service of Almighty God, have been used for almost every purpose imaginable. Lectures of various kinds, exhibitions, concerts, festivals, social entertainments, panoramas, negro and monkey shows, secret Union League meetings, political mass meetings, conventions, war meetings, and many other things, have all been held, time and again, in the house of God.

Corrupt political and clerical demagogues have delivered their political harangues from the altars and pulpits of the churches throughout the entire North. During the war, martial music, the fife and drum, war songs, exciting war speeches, the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, were common in churches dedicated to the service of God. In some portions of the country, radical political meetings are held almost exclusively in the churches. In these things the Ministers of the M. E. Church have taken a very active part. It is said that when the news of the surrender of Gen. Lee reached the church where an Annual Conference of the M. E. Church was in session, that the Bishop presiding arose from his seat and proposed three cheers, which were given; the Ministers of the Conference then joined in singing "Rally round the Flag, Boys," followed by the Doxology and Apostolic Benediction.

How unbecoming the sanctity of the house of God must all these things appear to an enlightened Christian people! How inconsistent with the mission, dignity and character of the Christian Ministry! And yet these things are done by Ministers of the Gospel, with the sanction of the Church, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the glaring light of Heaven's divine revelation.

All these things, done in the house of God, show a want of reverence for Him and His holy temple. They are sacrilegious in that by them the Almighty is robbed of the sanctity of His holy place. They are an abomination in His sight, and afford mournful evidences of the fearful apostacy of the Ministry and the Church. Desecrations of the house of God are not only common, but spoken of in terms of approbation by the leading spirits in the Ministry, and published to the world as an interesting and amusing item of Church history. The following specimen of church desecration is taken from the historical department of the Minutes of the session of the Iowa Conference for 1866 :

The Legislature of Iowa held four sessions in Old Zion, viz : The regular sessions of 1838-39 and 39-40, the extra session of July, 1840, and the regular session of 1840-41. The appropriation bills show that the Territorial Government paid for the use of the church a total of \$2,350.

Besides its use by the Legislature, the church was rented for several years for the use of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and the District Court of Des Moines county. While used for this purpose, in June, 1845, the Mormon murderers, the Hodges brothers, were tried and convicted of murder in the first degree. The verdict was delivered on Sunday morning, June 22d, and in the afternoon of the same day the two wretches were sentenced to death from the pulpit of Old Zion, by Hon. Charles Mason. They suffered the extreme penalty of the law July 15th, following.

The church being, at that time, the only commodious building in Burlington, was used for a long time for political meetings, lectures, and even shows!

January 23d and 24th, 1850, it was the scene of an Indian council, held by Gov. Lewis with the chiefs of the Sacs and Fox Indians. About fifty Indians, including young Black Hawk, and the chiefs Wishelamaqua, or Hardfist, Wapapesheek, or the Prophet, and Nasheaskuk, all in their native costumes, were present. They came to complain of the desecration of the old Black Hawk's grave, and other wrongs perpetrated by the white men. The whole affair wound up with a big war dance and Indian show.

On Monday night, Dec. 16th, 1838, it was the headquarters of a company of soldiers, numbering about 150, from Muscatine, who were on their way to the threatened border war between Iowa and Missouri, respecting the territorial line. The principle circumstance remembered in connection with this event is of their being supplied with a barrel of whisky by the citizens, many of whom joined with the volunteers in the revelry of the night.

After the vacation of the church by the Courts, the basement was fitted up for school purposes; and within its sombre walls, many a pedagogue has pursued his "delightful task."—*Minutes Iowa Conference*, p. 66.

#### NEGRO EQUALITY.

The political, ecclesiastical and social equality of the negro with the white race has become one of the most prominent planks in the political creed of the M. E. Church. In addition to the proof of this fact already given in this book, I subjoin the following, taken from the Conference Minutes of 1866 :

*Resolved*, 4. That we heartily approve the formation of Conferences organized without regard to difference of race or color, and fervently desire that all the brethren of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whatever race or color, may enjoy equal Church privileges with ourselves, and, if possessing the requisite qualifications, may not, from the spirit of caste, meet with obstacles to their advancement to the floor of the General Conference or the board of Bishops.—*Minutes East Maine Conference*, p. 24.

*Resolved*. That we heartily approve of the organization of the South Carolina and Mississippi Conferences, without distinction of color, and we trust that our whole southern work, and also our northern and border work, will proceed on the same plan.—*Minutes Wisconsin Conference*, p. 29.

The churches propose to educate and thereby elevate them to equal, social and political rights, due every American citizen.—*Ibid*, p. 30

Negro equality is not only to be taught, but strictly carried out in the Church. Already it has been put into practice. Conferences are organized without distinction "of race or color." Other Conferences, long established, are receiving negro ministers among them, and it is recommended that the whole Church "proceed on the same plan." It is also recommended, in opposition to the "spirit of caste," that colored men be advanced "to the floor of the General Conference and Board of Bishops."

Negro bishops are desired in the M. E. Church to preside in her Annual Conferences over white preachers, and to appoint them to their fields of labor. In the foregoing extracts it is declared to be the purpose of the Church to elevate the negro "to equal social and political rights due every American citizen."

Political equality puts the negro in the possession of all the political privileges enjoyed by any American citizen. It gives them not only the right to vote, but also the right to hold any office in the gift of the people—to be our Presidents, Governors, Legislators and Judges.

Ecclesiastical equality gives the negro a right to legislate for us in the Church, and to be our Pastors and Bishops.

Social equality brings the negro not only into our parlors, but into our families. It makes the gentlemen of color the husbands of our sisters and daughters; and the ladies of color the wives of our brothers and sons. The social equality of the races can mean nothing less than this; otherwise it is not equality at all. Social equality is already declared to be the right of the negro, to which he is to be elevated by the Church.

The M. E. Church seems fully determined to ignore even the distinctions made by the Almighty Himself. God has made a

distinction, and it is our duty to observe it. He has also planted in the heart of every man a natural aversion to the blending of the races. But not only so, He has, by a fixed law, made it impossible to unite the races without their ultimate extinction. But why does the M. E. Church persist in such fanaticism? Why does she talk so much about the rights, equality and elevation of the colored race? Why so much said concerning the duty of the Government towards them? Why so much sympathy expressed for them? These questions are not hard to answer by one who has an eye on the political movements of that Church.

There is enough already copied in this book from the records of the M. E. Church to satisfy any unprejudiced mind that her great aim is political power; and as she expects the negroes soon to enjoy political rights, she is endeavoring to win them over to her and gather them into her bosom as an element of political strength. If any one should doubt this, let him read the following, endorsed by a Conference of more than one hundred Ministers:

These people will be a power in the land. Passing events clearly indicate that they will soon obtain political, as they have obtained civil rights.—*Minutes Southern Illinois Conference, of 1866, p. 41.*

I wish to say, in reference to this extract, that it was presented in the report of the Conference on the Freedman's Aid Society, and given as a reason why an effort should be made to gather the colored people into the M. E. Church.

Ecclesiastical influence and political power is the great aim of the Northern Methodist Church, and to secure these she is preparing to bring under her influence and control every element of political strength. In order to accomplish this, negro equality is to be preached from the pulpits, taught in the Sunday Schools, and advocated in the journals of the Church.

Almost every dishonest measure has been resorted to by the Bishops and Ministers of the M. E. Church (North) to rob the M. E. Church, South, of her property. This work, commenced during the war, still continues. Bishop Ames, under order of Secretary Stanton, went South during the war and seized property belonging to the M. E. Church, South, and appropriated it to the use of his own Church. The church at Nashville, Ten-

nessee, was taken possession of and held in this way until President Johnson, in compliance with a request of the trustees of the church, issued an order compelling these Northern intruders to give it up to its rightful proprietors. Churches, also, at Knoxville and Memphis, Tennessee; in New Orleans, Louisiana; at Lexington, Independence, Glasgow, Louisiana, in Missouri, and other portions of the South have been taken possession of by the preachers of the M. E. Church. A great amount of Church property, in the shape of institutions of learning, churches and parsonages, are being dishonestly held even to this day. This property has been reported in the minutes of the Conferences of the Northern Church as their own. For the erection of this property the Church North has never paid a cent.

The members of the M. E. Church, South, have been driven out of their own houses of worship, and, in some places at least, not even allowed to occupy them when not used by their Northern robbers. Ministers have been driven from their parsonages and pulpits, and threatened with mob violence if they attempt to re-occupy them. A minister of the M. E. Church, South, in Tennessee, was met at the door of his own church by a mob of sixteen men, eight of whom were members of the M. E. Church (North)—their class leader being the leader of the mob—who took him and rode him on a rail. When the sainted Headlee, of the M. E. Church, South, in Missouri, went to his appointment to preach, a mob of twenty armed men met him at the place, and murdered him. The leader of this mob also was a Northern Methodist. This is the way the M. E. Church (North) is extending her borders in the South. Other instances of mob violence might be given if time and space would allow.

In some places, the members of the Church, South, have recovered their property, but not without considerable trouble and expense. In Louisiana, Missouri, the Northern Methodists have lately offered to give up the church to its rightful owners, provided they would pay the expenses of the lawsuit on both sides. Seeing they could not hold this property, they desired the expenses incurred in trying to get it paid by those whom they had endeavored to rob.

This church-robbing process, begun and carried on by Northern Bishops and Ministers, has the sanction of the Ministers throughout the North. I will here present some Conference resolutions, adopted in 1866, endorsing these things:

*Resolved.* That we regard with grateful approbation the work which our Missionary Board and Church Extension Society are prosecuting in the South.—*Minutes Wisconsin Conference*, p. 29.

*Resolved.* That we do most heartily endorse the efforts of our bishops and ministers that are now being made in the Southern States, and will devotedly pray for their ultimate success.—*Minutes Illinois Conference*, p. 15.

By these resolutions, it will be seen that all these outrages, committed by a set of unprincipled men in their efforts to extend the borders of the M. E. Church throughout the South, have the sanction of the Ministers of said Church in the North. The following resolution, adopted by the Missouri and Arkansas Conference, held at Louisiana, Missouri, commencing March 7, 1866, will also serve to throw light on this subject :

*Resolved.* That the preachers be urged to exercise personal supervision over such Church property not yet secured to trustees, urge the Churches to select trustees, and when this is not done, to petition the county court to appoint such officers.—*Minutes Missouri and Arkansas Conference*, p. 36.

This is a clear case of premeditated fraud on the part of an entire Conference of Ministers. This resolution urges the preachers of the Missouri and Arkansas Conference of the Church North “to exercise personal supervision over such Church property not secured to trustees,” to “urge the churches to select trustees,” and, if this cannot be done, “to petition the county court to appoint such officers.” It is evident, from the very language of the resolution itself, that the church property desired to be secured had never been in the possession of the Northern Church, and consequently did not belong to them. These things show the intention of their Ministers to use every possible effort to secure and hold property belonging to other parties. This is as plain a case of preconcerted fraud as ever disgraced any convict in the State prison ; and yet men, under the garb of Christianity, professing to be Ministers of the Lord Jesus, are guilty of such enormous outrages upon justice, civilization and Christianity.

One of these Ministers went into Tennessee, during the war, and purchased a college building of the M. E. Church, South, for a comparatively small sum of money, there being, it appears, some liabilities upon the institution which the trustees were unable to meet at the time on account of the then unsettled state of affairs in the country. After the close of the war, the original proprietors offered him, for the building, more than he had paid

for it, but he refused to return the property. He afterwards sold it to the Northern Methodists for less than the others offered him.

It was then published in a Northern Methodist paper, that the College had been procured for less than half its value. Here is another case of dishonesty published to the world, and boasted of by the guilty party. If one man gets the property of another for less than half its value, it follows that the one getting the property cheats the other out of more than half its value. The reverend gentleman that did this, is as dishonest as a horse-thief, and yet he is in good standing in the M. E. Church, and the Church to which he belongs is in the peaceable possession of the stolen property.

What a record is this for a Church to make! These things are done, not for the good of the cause of Christ and the salvation of sinners, but for ecclesiastical aggrandizement and political power.

The ministers of the M. E. Church (North) expected at the close of the civil war to go in and possess the property of the Church South, as their share of the spoils. It was this that gave them such an interest in the prosecution of the war. They expected thereby greatly to enlarge their borders. They had reason to believe that the Government would aid them in this work. Even before the close of the war, they commenced upon this work under the military power. When Mr. Johnson became President of these United States, he (so far as was in his power,) put a stop to this seizing of Church property, and this is the great secret of their opposition to him.

#### RESULT OF POLITICAL PREACHING.

The political agitation in the Church has been attended with a spirit of intolerance, bigotry and bitter prosecution. The ministers who would not preach politics from the sacred desk, were denounced as traitors and persecuted out of the church by a set of political preachers. Officers in the church were deposed. Thousands and tens of thousands of members of long and high standing were run out of the Church. In one single year, the M. E. Church lost sixty thousand of her members by her political intolerance and fanaticism. In addition to these, many thousands that attended upon the ministry of the church, and who were warm friends and firm supporters of the Gospel, have been driven



away in disgust. In very many places the churches have been entirely broken up. Everywhere broils and contentions have followed in the train of political preaching. The peace and harmony of society, the church and the country, have been destroyed. Christian fellowship has been disturbed. Church divisions, and a general religious declension are some of the results of the political intermeddling of the church.

It was the political intermeddling of the Church that brought about the terrible civil war through which we have just passed. Political preachers have boasted of this fact.

Besides all these things just enumerated, I add it as my firm conviction that political preaching has made more infidels than all infidel books ever published. This I believe to be true. Infidelity follows political preaching. Where one is, there is the other. Where political preaching most abounds, there is most infidelity.

In conclusion allow me to say that the contest of ages still goes on. Let the true issue be fully understood. It is whether the Church of Christ shall, or shall not, be a political body. The political and non-political elements of the church or antagonistic to each other. They can never live together in peace and harmony in the same church. On one side or the other of this question, every man must be identified.





